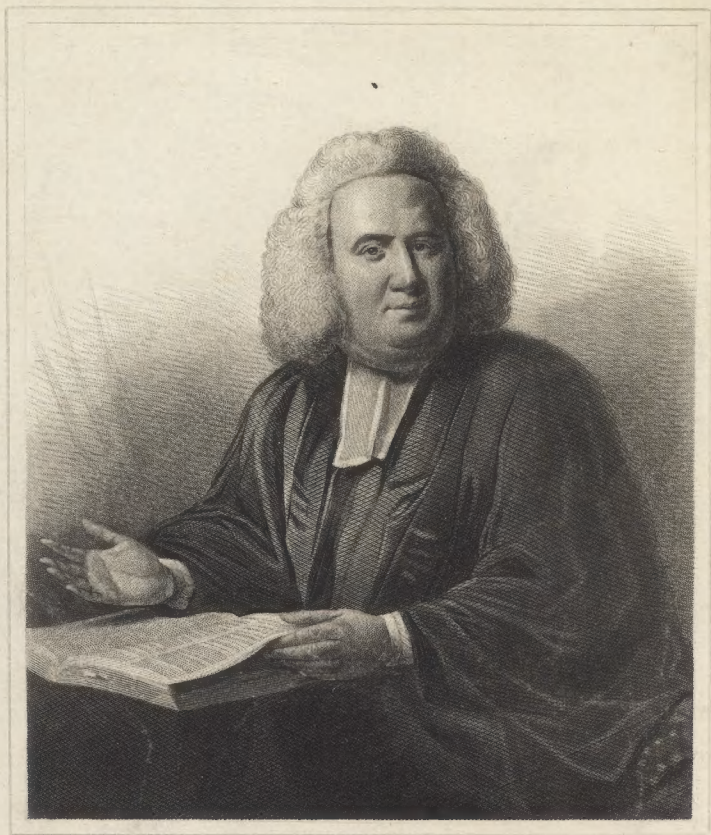


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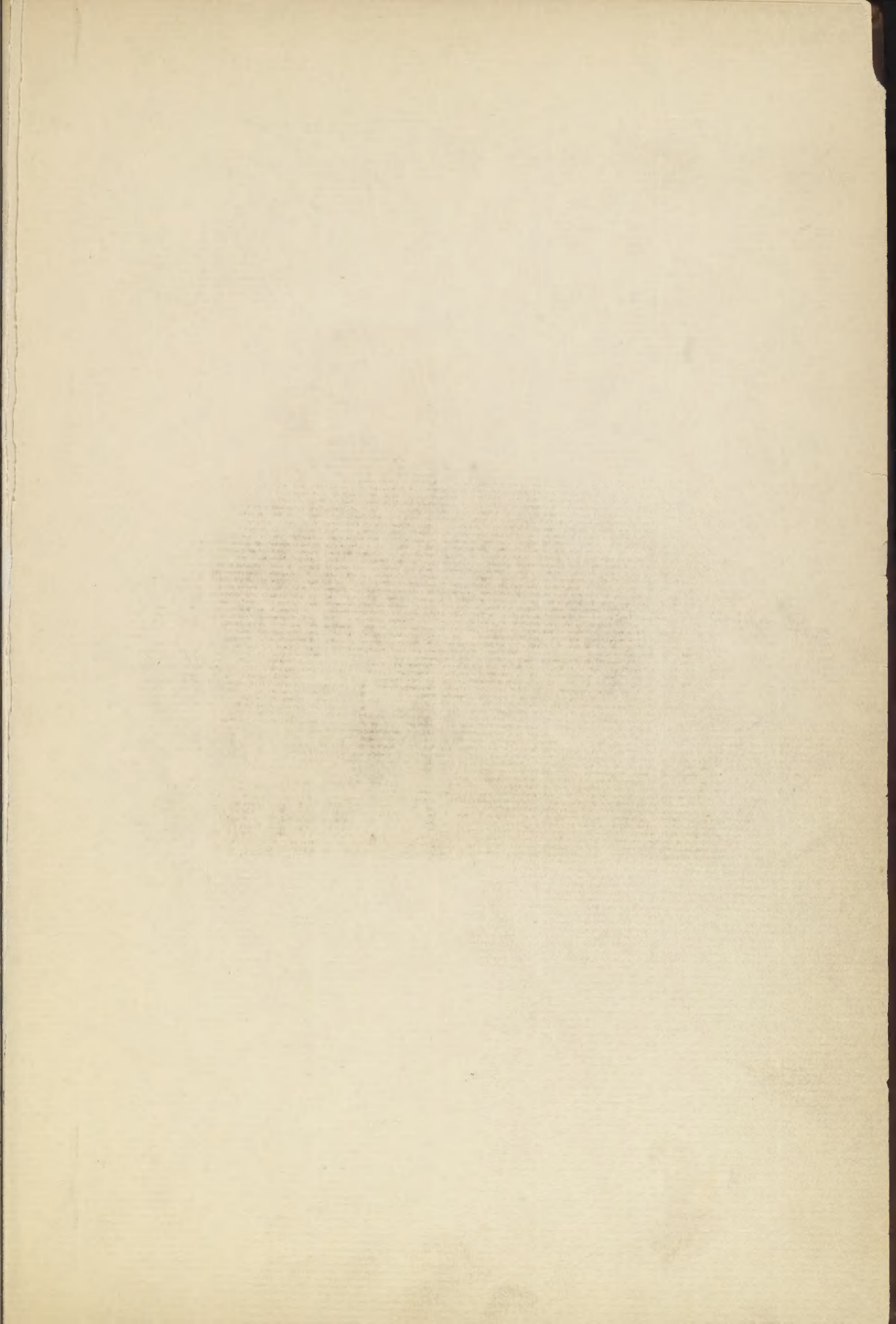


John Ogilvie

ORIT NOV 26TH A.D. 1774.

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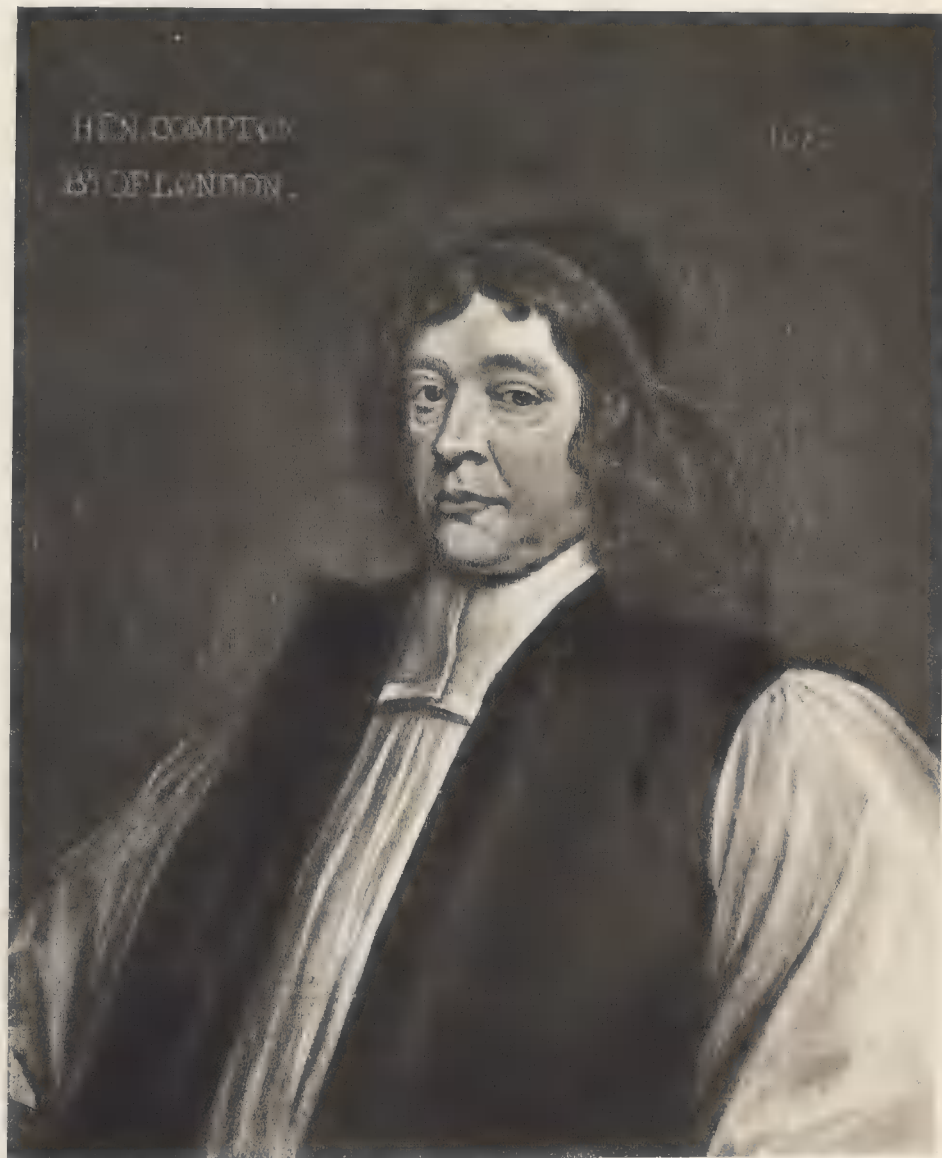


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*The Rt. Rev. Henry Compton, D.D., Lord Bishop of London.
Made Rector by King William the Third
at the time of the granting of the Charter in 1697.*

A History
of the
Parish of Trinity Church
in the City of New York

Compiled
by order of the Corporation

and Edited by
Morgan Dix, S.T.D., D.C.L.
Ninth Rector

4 Vols.

Part I

To the close of the Rectorship of Dr. Inglis, A.D. 1783

New York
G. P. Putnam's Sons
The Knickerbocker Press
1898

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INTRODUCTORY.

THE corporation now known by the legal title of "The Rector, Church Wardens, and Vestrymen of Trinity Church in the City of New York" is one of the oldest in this place. The Dongan Charter dates from April 27, 1686; the Charter of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church from May, 1696, and the Charter of Trinity Parish from May 6, 1697. Notwithstanding this, we are still without a history which deserves that name. It is true that in 1847 a volume was published bearing the title, "*An Historical Sketch of Trinity Church, New-York*," by the Rev. William Berrian, D.D., the Rector of the same," but it was what the venerable author described it to be, a mere sketch, written in haste, under the pressure of a serious assault on the corporation in the State Legislature, and designed in the main for apologetic and defensive use; it did not profess to give a full account of the parish, and leaves much to be desired by the student.

That no history of the parish has been written thus far is the more remarkable, because our annals are so intimately connected with those of the city. Trinity Church was the most prominent religious foundation in the Province of New York. Its rectors and clergy were among the conspicuous figures of the period. The streets of this

city were named after persons or objects connected with the parish ; there were Church street and Chapel street ; Vesey street was so called from the first Rector of Trinity, and Barclay from the second ; in Varick, Clarkson, Desbrosses, Morris, Ludlow, Willett, Bayard, Lispenard, Lodge, White, Reade, Howard, Chambers, Delancy, Duane, Harrison, Charlton, and many other streets we recognize the names of wardens and vestrymen of Trinity Church. The controversies of earlier days affected the fortunes of the parish, and the leaders of factions which enacted on a small scale the part of Guelph and Ghibelline of old, battling vehemently within the metropolitan limits, might generally be found as siding with or against the Church. In the burial-ground of Old Trinity were laid to rest, after life's fitful fever, the magnates of the day, whose stately and imposing funerals are described with characteristic details in the journals of the time. This parish was the cradle of Christianity in its Anglo-Catholic type ; from its prolific womb sprang congregations which became in after time independent parishes. By the Charter of the parish the Lord Bishop of London was named its first Rector ; the last Rector of the Colonial period, after vicissitudes of fortune, became the first Bishop of Nova Scotia. Great was the influence and high the dignity of that corporation, whose constitution and statutes were framed after those of the Church of St. Mary-le-Bow, in the City of London, where of old the Archbishops of Canterbury were consecrated, and of which the traditions and customs were preserved in this distant land beyond the sea. Long after the Revolution the influence of the parish was still felt ; while, notwithstanding the complete transformation of the city, in population, manners, and customs, the present generation admit our claim to attention and respect. The office of Rector of Trinity Church

used to be considered as naturally including that of Bishop of the Diocese of New York. Provoost, the first to hold the latter office, was eminent among the clergy of the parish ; Moore, his successor in the Episcopate, was Rector as well as Bishop, and so was Hobart ; Onderdonk and Wainwright once were assistant ministers. So many and so striking are the particulars worthy of notice in the annals of the parish that it is a subject of amazement that up to this time, nearly two hundred years since its foundation, nothing deserving the name of a history of it exists. To supply this need has been, for many years, a strong desire of the present Rector, and now, though not till after our bi-centenary, he sees the way to presenting the public with a first instalment, at least, of the work. The Vestry, with commendable interest in the design, have supplied him with the means of carrying it into effect by liberal appropriations for the collection of material here and abroad. In the office of the corporation in the city, in the rooms of the Historical Society, and in the Guild Hall in London, where are preserved the records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, with reports and correspondence relating to religious work in the North American colonies, search has been diligently made for information bearing on the subject. In work of this kind, in the slow and laborious process of reading the huge volumes of our parish records, and in ransacking the treasures stacked up abroad, I have taken little or no part ; the credit of collecting the materials for this history belongs to others. To the Rev. Benjamin F. DeCosta, D.D., the Rev. Newton Perkins, Mr. Stephen P. Nash, the Rev. Joseph Hooper, and others who might be mentioned, I am indebted for assistance without which it would have been impossible to accomplish what has been done ; my own share has been merely that of editor.

The present volume, the first of several to which the history must inevitably extend, is now offered to the reader, with the hope that it may prove of value as a record of the most important, if not the oldest, ecclesiastical foundation of our Church in this land.

TRINITY RECTORY,

June 3, 1898.

A HISTORY OF THE PARISH OF TRINITY CHURCH

CHAPTER I.

EARLY DISCOVERIES AND RIVAL CLAIMANTS IN NORTH AMERICA.

Pre-Columbian Voyages—The Cabots—Verrazano—The Discoverer of our Bay and River—Cartier and Allefonsce—First Celebration of the Holy Communion by the Anglican Rite—The Virginia Colony—Later Appearance of the Dutch—Hudson's Voyage, and Reconnaissance up the River San Antonio, now known as the Hudson—Claim of the Dutch to Rights as Discoverers steadily resisted by the English—The West India Company—The North Virginia Company.

THE chroniclers of old time in beginning their narratives were wont to take a departure from the epoch of the creation of the world. Of the class of annals referred to are the *Nuremberg Chronicle*; the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Petrus Comestorius; the *Chronicles of Orosius*; the bulky *Chronycke Van Hollandt*, which commences "Van't beginne des werelts," and runs on, "tot op Keyser Karel den vijfden"; not to mention the *History of New York*, by our own learned and veracious countryman, Diedrich Knickerbocker. It is not proposed to start so far back in the present history; on the contrary, mention shall be omitted of many things which have some claim, if not a strong one, to attention. Thus, for instance, no special reference shall be made to the voyages referred to by Pliny, nor to the acts of the pre-Columbian navigators;

as to which matters the reader may find elsewhere as much information as can be had. The consecration of the North American continent to the faith in our Lord Jesus Christ as early as the beginning of the 11th century; the bearing of the banner of the Cross from Norway and the Orkneys to Iceland, and thence, A.D. 983, to Greenland, where the Episcopate was established and maintained for some three hundred years¹; the memorable voyage of Eric, in the year 1000, from Greenland down the coast of North America in search of land previously seen by one Biarne,² who had been driven on that continent; the visit of Columbus to Iceland in 1470, and his oblique voyage in 1492, which brought him to the West Indies instead of the coasts of North Carolina; the expeditions of the Coortevals to the northern part of the continent in 1500-3³; these and other like proceedings shall be passed by, that we be not unduly retarded in the work in hand.

But when we come to the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century, events have definite relation

¹ The principal authorities are the following:

Antiquitates Americanae sive Scriptores Septentrionales rerum Ante-Columbianarum in America. Edidit Societas Regia Antiquariorum Septentrionalium. Hafniæ Typis Officinæ Schultzianæ, 1837.

Grönland's Historiske Mindesmærker, udgivne af det Kongelige Nordiske Olskrift-Selskab. 3 vols. Kjøbenhavn, 1838.

Memoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord: Copenhagen, Au Secrétariat de la Société, 1836-9, 1840-4, 1845-9, etc.

The Pre-Columbian Discovery of America by the Northmen, etc., by B. F. De Costa; Albany, 1868. Also Beamish's work on the Northmen, which gives a partial bibliography, and Anderson's translation of Horn's *History of the Literature of the Scandinavian North*, Chicago, 1884.

² With Biarne was a Christian from the Hebrides, who composed the following prayer during the voyage (986), and which is probably the oldest liturgical fragment now known in connection with America:

"I to the monk's protector pray
That He will give my voyage luck!
The Heaven's great Ruler
Save me from danger."

Pre-Columbian Discovery of America by the Northmen, p 25.

³ See *Les Corte-Real et leurs voyages, etc.,* by Henry HARRISSE, Paris, 1883, with the Modena map of 1503.

to our present history. The question of the right of divers European powers to the land in North America about the 40th parallel of latitude, by virtue of first discovery, was hotly discussed by the representatives of several courts, with results of a very practical character. The figures of John and Sebastian Cabot¹ now confront us. To John Cabot belongs the honor of the discovery of North America. He made two voyages, sailing from Bristol, about the middle of May, 1497, under the English flag. He sighted the coast of Labrador, and returned to England in August of the same year, the voyage having lasted about three months. His second voyage was in 1498. There is no clear account of that voyage, nor is it known where he went, when the expedition returned to England, or whether John Cabot came back. There is no evidence that Sebastian accompanied his father on either voyage. Mr. Harrisse conjectures that John Cabot, on his second voyage, may have ranged down the North American coast, in which case it may be further conjectured that he looked in at the Hudson, Delaware, and Potomac rivers; but of this there is no proof, the English and other chronicles being totally silent on the subject. The first European navigator known to have visited this particular part of the New World was a Florentine, Giovanni da Verrazano by name.² Sailing from the vicinity

¹ For a full discussion of the Cabot question, see the essay of Charles Deane, LL.D., forming chapter i. of volume iii. of *The Narrative and Critical History of America, With Bibliographical and Descriptive Essays on its Sources and Authorities*. Edited by Justin Winsor. Also see Biddle's *Memoir of Sebastian Cabot*, Philadelphia and London, 1831. But particularly see the latest work on the subject, *John Cabot, the Discoverer of North America, and Sebastian his Son, a Chapter of the Maritime History of England under the Tudors, 1496-1557*, by Henri Harrisse, London, 1896.

² The original authority for this voyage is in Ramusio's *Navigazioni et Viaggi, Venice*, 1554, iii., 350. It is entitled *Relatione di Giovanni da Verrazano Fiorentino della terra per lui Scoperta in nome di sua Maestà, scritta in Dieppa, adi 8 Luglio M.D.XXIII*. For a bibliography, with an account of the controversy that was raised on the subject of the voyage, see *Verrazano the Explorer: Being a Vindication of his*

of Madeira, January 17, 1524 (O. S.), he reached what is now known as the Carolina coast in latitude 30° N. about the 6th of March; and sailing thence, and keeping a northward course, about the beginning of April he entered the bay of New York. To him, therefore, must be conceded the honor of the discovery of our world-renowned bay and river, to which, in a letter to his patron, Francis II., dated at Dieppe, July 8, following, he refers in these descriptive terms:

“We found a very pleasant situation among some steep hills, through which a very large river, deep at its mouth, forced its way to the sea.”

Whether any one of the priestly order accompanied Verrazano on this voyage cannot be positively affirmed; it is altogether likely; indeed it would be next to impossible that this should not have been the case. Religious services of some kind or other were undoubtedly held, while his ship, the *Dolphin*, lay in the port which he has so accurately described; for he says, elsewhere, of the natives:

“They are very easily persuaded, and imitated us with earnestness and fervour in all which they saw us do in our act of worship.”

Thus came and departed the hardy captain of the “Most Christian King,” the first mariner of any nation, and the first representative of the Christian religion, who is known to have looked upon the highlands of Navesink, the Narrows, and the primeval forest which then covered the Island of Manhattan.

Next in order may be mentioned the Portuguese pilot, Estevan Gomez, a well-known navigator, and like Verra-

Letter and Voyage, with an Examination of the Map of Hieronimo da Verrazano. And a Dissertation upon the Globe of Vlpnius, to which is prefixed a Bibliography of the Subject. By B. F. De Costa, New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1880.

zano, in the service of the Spanish Crown, who arrived in our bay the following year, 1525.¹ Unfortunately, the accounts of this voyage are neither full nor harmonious; but deficiencies are partially supplied by a map made by an unknown cartographer in 1527, supplemented by another map, that of Ribero of 1529. The latter map, which is little more than a copy of the former with the addition of a considerable number of coast names, plainly reveals the fact that Gomez visited the Hudson, and named it, "Rio San Antonio," perhaps in honor of the Saint on whose anniversary the Indian "Cohotated" was seen for the first time.²

One more name may be added to this list of early discoverers—that of Ayllon, who sailed to the Carolinas in 1526, and died there October 18th, St. Luke's Day, at a place about forty miles southwest of the Santee. The date is worthy to be noted and kept in remembrance, because before his death he received the Holy Communion from a priest attached to the expedition; it is one of the earliest recorded instances of the celebration of the Divine Mysteries on the continent of North America.³

¹ The following are among the many references to Gomez: Peter Martyr's *Decades*; Oviedo, *Historia General*, Pts. ii. and iii.; Ramusio's *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, iii., 43; De Bry's *Grand Voyage*, pt. 4, 69; Herrera's *Historia General*, dec. iii., lib. viii., c. 8; Brevoort's *Verrazano, the Navigator*, 9; *Sailing Directions of Henry Hudson*, by Ivar Bardsen, translated by B. F. De Costa, 37; Kohl's *Maine*; Murphy's *Verrazano the Explorer*; *Henry Hudson the Navigator*, by G. M. Asher, LL.D., in Vol. 27; Hakluyt Soc'y, Publications, 1860. See Introduction, *Narr. and Crit. Hist. America*, iv., 1; *Historical Magazine*, 1866, 371.

² St. Anthony of Padua's Day falls on June 13. An article on the early names of the Hudson may be found in *The Mag. of Amer. Hist.* iv., 401. Dunlap's *History of New York*.

³ Oviedo's *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, etc., Madrid, 1851, Pt. ii., 145; also iii., 628. Columbus, who appears to have been in the habit of performing religious exercises with his sailors, may not have had any priest in his ship on the first voyage. On the fourth he landed in Honduras, at Punta di Castilia, Sunday, August 14, 1502, where a mass was celebrated—probably the first in that region. *Historie del Sig. Don Fernando Colombo*, Venetia, 1685, p. 403. The northern limit of the expeditions of Ayllon was 33° 10'. See a conclusive note in Murphy's *Verrazano*, etc., p. 123 and note 3.

English navigators, successors, as it were, of the Cabots, now come to the front. There is something very interesting to churchmen in the voyage of John Rutt, a sturdy captain of Henry VIII., who appears in August, 1527, at St. Johns, Newfoundland, with two ships, the *Mary of Guilford*, and the *Sampson*. There is no proof that either vessel sailed down the coast, but it is a noteworthy fact that Rutt had with him one Albert de Prato, a canon of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, and a friend of Cardinal Wolsey.¹

And now the French come on the scene. On the 20th of April, 1534, Jacques Cartier, sometimes styled "the Corsair," sailed from St. Malo to the Bay of St. Lawrence in search of the desired passage to India. It appears from his narrative that on the 15th of August, the Feast of the Assumption B. V. M., he heard mass at Whitesand Island, on the coast of Labrador; the first recorded act of worship by French Catholics in the region then included in New France.² Cartier made another expedition in 1535, hastened thereto by the rapid progress of the Protestant Reformation, which necessitated the attempt to open new fields for Christian activity on the part of the Roman Church. On this second voyage he does not appear to have carried any ecclesiastics with him.³ In Cartier's narrative occurs a statement of

¹ See Purchas' *His Pilgrimes*. London, 1625, vol. 3, 808.

² *Discours du Voyage*, etc., Rouen, 1598. This voyage was published by Ramusio in *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, which was translated into English by John Florio, and published at London 1580. It was adapted by Hakluyt in 1600, and published in his *Principal Navigations*, iii., 201. Another narrative, entitled *Relation Original*, etc., was found and published at Paris in 1867. A reprint of the original edition of 1598, under the title of *Voyage de Jacques Cartier au Canada en 1534*, was edited by Henry Michelaut, Paris, Tross, 1865.

³ This voyage is described in the *Brief Recit.*, etc., Paris, 1545. Of the original edition only a single copy now exists. This is in the British Museum. A second copy was lost at sea on its way to this country. It is not certain that Cartier was his own historian. Cartier officiated in his capacity as a layman, as did Columbus.

peculiar interest, to the effect that at Hochelaga (the modern Montreal) he was told that where they left the pinnacle before ascending in small boats to the city, there was a river which ran to the southwest, a month's journey, to a land where was neither snow nor ice, and of which the inhabitants were continually at war with one another ; and that there were in that land oranges, almonds, nuts, and apples, while the men and women were clad in " furs," and that there was neither gold nor red copper there ; whereupon Cartier adds : " I take this place to be towards Florida, as far as they showed by their signs and tokens." It is a distinct indication of the existence of an old communication by water between the River St. Lawrence and the mouth of the Hudson ; and Cartier was the first to point out that route.

The voyage of Jehan Allefonsce, in 1542, presents some very interesting particulars.¹ A native of Sain-

He ascended the St. Lawrence, and at Montreal he found the Indians in misery and distress. The simple-minded people were deeply impressed by the French, and, as they looked upon Cartier, they seemed to think that " God was descended and come down from heaven to heal them." Touched by their sorrow, Cartier recited a portion of the Gospel of St. John, made the sign of the cross, said prayers, and afterward, service-book in hand, " read all the Passion of Christ word by word." Descending to Stadaconna, where an Indian town occupied the present site of the city of Quebec, he passed the winter. There multitudes of the natives desired to be baptized, though the narrative does not state how they came to understand the nature and value of the sacrament ; but Cartier declined on the ground that he had neither priest nor chrism, but would return the next year with both. See, for a full and minute account of the voyages of Cartier, *The Narrative and Critical History of America*, iv., c. 2.

¹ Allefonsce is best known through his MS. *Cosmographie*, preserved in the Manuscript Department of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris. A portion of it was turned in verse by Jehan Maillard, Poet to Francis I. Maillard's MS. is preserved in the same collection. A portion of it was also published after the death of Allefonsce, as *Voyages Avantureux*, etc., Poitier, 1559. It is now rare. Full information respecting authorities will be found in *Narrative and Critical History*, iv., c. 2. See also De Costa's *Verrazano the Explorer* ; Brevoort's *Verrazano the Navigator*, 154 ; Margry's *Navigations Françaises* ; *The Northmen in Maine* ; Harris's *Jean et Sebastien Cabot* ; Murphy's *Verrazano* and Hakluyt's *Navigations*, iii., 237. Allefonsce forms a new figure in American history, having never been heard from through writers like Bancroft and Parkman.

tonge, France, he came out to Canada as a pilot of *Roberval*, and made a run down the coast before returning home. He has left a *Cosmography*, giving a description of the entire Atlantic coast, evidently done from personal observation. In it is found an accurate description of the mouth of the Hudson River, including the long spit of sand at the entrance, known already as the "Cabo de las Arenas," and to us as "Sandy Hook." And here it may be observed, in anticipation, that the influence and importance of the French in connection with the colonization of New York has not been sufficiently considered. There is a popular impression that New York was settled by the Dutch; but the first colonists, those of 1623, were chiefly French Huguenots, as will be hereafter shown. In 1656, the French element was so important, that public documents were drawn up in the French tongue. It has been estimated that in 1685 the French constituted about one fourth of the population. As early as 1552 French religious worship had become prominent, and in 1682 a French church was founded, which survives in our day.¹

The names of the English navigators are more familiar to our ears than those of the French, Spanish, and Portuguese. One of them was David Ingram,² who, in 1567, with several companions, travelled by land from the Gulf of Mexico to St. John's, New Brunswick, being the first of his countrymen known to have entered any part of the present territory of New England. Martin Frobisher appeared on the coast of Labrador, in 1578,³ with whom

¹ *Centennial History of the Diocese of New York*, Appletons, 1886, 88.

² *Narrative and Critical History*, iii., 170, 186, and White's *Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, viii.; *Mag. of American History*, ix., 168-176; and Bodleian MSS., Tanner, 79, fol. 172, cited in *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, ix., 200-208.

³ White's *Memoirs*, p. viii.; Hakluyt *Principal Navigations*, iii., 84, 91, and *Domestic State Papers* (Calendar) A.D. 1547-48, vol. cxi., 48, 49; cxvi. 24 and 25; cxviii., 36, 39, 41-43; cxix., 8-10, 12, 14, 15; cxxii., 3; cxxiii., 5.

came the Reverend Maister Wolfall, "Minister and Preacher," charged "to serve God twice a day with the ordinary service usual in the Church of England." The expedition landed in the Countess of Warwick's Sound, where the chaplain, so far as is known, celebrated the Holy Communion for the first time, according to the rites and forms of the Anglican Church. In 1580, John Walker made a voyage to Maine; and in 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert sailed on his celebrated voyage to Newfoundland, of which an account is given by Hakluyt. Before Gilbert left England, Christopher Carlisle projected a colony to be settled on the North American coast, somewhere near latitude 40°, his attention having evidently been directed to the place by the descriptions of Verrazano. Turning to Virginia, we find Sir Walter Raleigh there in 1584 intent on establishing a colony. The offices of the English Church were duly performed in Virginia at that time. The clergyman attached to White's Colony in 1587 baptized Virginia Dare, said to be the first Christian born in Virginia.¹ The claim that this was the first baptism performed in Virginia cannot be sustained, as the Spaniards preceded the English in that region, and in 1574 had a mission there, and performed baptism.²

About the beginning of the 17th century Gosnold made a voyage to New England, and spent some time upon the island of Cuttyhunk. The next year, 1603, Martin Pring came over, and harbored at Plymouth, where, seventeen years before the arrival of the "Pilgrims," the services of the Church were probably celebrated by William Salterne, afterward a clergyman of the

¹ Hakluyt, iii., 285.

² See *The Churchman*, Nov. 9, 1872, 359, and White's *Memoirs*, x.; also Dr. John Gilmary Shea's "Log Chapel on the Rappahannock" in *The Catholic World*, March, 1875, 852.

Church. This voyage was made with the co-operation of the venerable Richard Hakluyt, Prebend of Westminster, in 1605, who may therefore be considered one of the fathers of New England colonization.¹

The voyage of Waymouth, in 1605, with his exploration of the "Sagadahoc," now known as the Kennebec River, calls for no more than passing mention,² nor is it necessary to our present purpose to go into details as to the expedition to Maine under Captain George Popham. The records of the Virginia Colony are of interest to churchmen, as pointing a contrast between the Church and those separatists who had thrown off their allegiance to her. The first legislative assembly in the limits of the United States was held in the Church at Jamestown, July 30, 1619. In July, 1621, when the little band of Puritans who had landed at Plymouth the preceding year and formed their commune on the most exclusive and intolerant religious principles were in great straits and in actual danger of starvation, an Assembly duly convened at Jamestown had received and accepted a Constitution and established free representative government—a thing un-

¹ By his publications, not to mention the active part taken in connection with voyages, Hakluyt did a great work in the interest of colonization under church auspices. Born about 1553, he was educated at Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford. The calling of his attention to the 107th Psalm made him the historian of those who go down into the sea in ships. In 1582, he published his *Divers Voyages*, and in 1589 the *Principal Navigations*, in one volume. In 1600 he enlarged the work, but omitting some things and making three volumes. In 1609 he published *Virginia Richly Valued*. He died in Hertfordshire in 1616, but his ashes rest in the Abbey. No monument has yet been built to commemorate the part he took in promoting Christian civilization. See *Narrative and Critical History*, vol. iii., 123, 189, 208 *et seq.*

² *A True Relation of the most prosperous voyage made this present year, 1605, by Captaine George Waymouth, in the Discouery of the Land of Virginia: where he discovered 60 miles up a most excellent river; together with a most fertile land.* Written by James Rosier, a gentleman employed in the voyage. Londini, Impensis, Geor. Bishop, 1605. *Narrative and Critical History*, iii., 191. The *True Relation* was reprinted by Purchas, iv., 1659, with a few changes; and again in the *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, s. 3, vol., viii., 125.

known up to that time on the American continent.¹ The influence of the Anglican Church was already felt in the New World, and during the period intervening between the event to which reference has just been made and the landing at Jamestown, she occupied a prominent part through her representatives, of whom the Rev. Robert Hunt was, perhaps, the most distinguished.

Thus for a long course of years the bold and enterprising navigators of England, Spain, Portugal, and France had been passing up and down the coast of the western continent, with dreams of impossible discoveries in their heads, seeking short cuts to India and Cathay, but ignorant of the vast treasures which lay within their reach, and the interests awaiting development, under their very eyes. The Dutch had taken little part as yet in these enterprises, though it appears to be now settled beyond a doubt that there had been a certain occupancy by people of that nation on the North and South rivers (the Hudson and the Delaware) as far back as 1598, and that the region was known to them and visited by their traders. In 1609 they came conspicuously into view. The voyage of Hendrick Hudson in that year, though barren of immediate results, awakened a new interest in North American colonization, and brought the Dutch into prominence in this region. Hudson, as is well known, was an Englishman, but he served under the Dutch flag, and gave to that nation the credit due to his acts.² In his little Vlieboat of forty lasts burden called the *Half Moon*, he sailed from Amsterdam, March 25, 1609, with a crew partly English and partly Dutch, his original intention being to seek a route by the northeast to China. Failing in that

¹ See *Narrative and Critical History*, iii., 145. "This famous ordinance furnished the model of every subsequent provincial form of government in the Anglo-American Colonies."

² The best guide in this connection is Asher's *Henry Hudson, the Navigator*.

attempt he headed for the southwest to Greenland and thence passed down the American coast, with a final resolve to seek a passage to the Indies in the neighborhood of latitude 40° N. It is said that he was induced to take this course by advice and suggestion from his friend Capt. John Smith. Hudson arrived off Sandy Hook in September, and came to an anchor there; after a few day's delay he entered the "River of San Antonio"—for such was already its name—sailed up through the Highlands and attained the limits of navigation, but without discovering the expected road to India. Thus ended, in disappointment, what was no more than a reconnaissance on a river already well known. Hudson had no desire to return to the scene of his failure, nor did the East India Company care about the result. It was not what they wanted, and it taught them nothing new. Whatever impetus was given to Dutch enterprise was not due to the so-called "grand discovery" of Hudson, but probably to the fact that in 1609 the Dutch concluded a ten-years' truce with Spain, and then found a little more leisure for commerce.

There are notes of voyages in 1610 and 1611 from Dutch ports to the river which now bears Hudson's name,¹ but nothing of importance appears till toward the end of the latter year. Hendrick Christiansen, returning to

¹ For information as to the movements of the Dutch at this time see De Laet's *Novum Belgium*, *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, s. 2, vol. i., 291. This is ■ part of his *Nieuwe Werelt*, etc., Leyden, 1825, which was translated into Latin and French, giving the earliest printed accounts of settlements on this river. See also *Albany Record*, xxiv., 167; *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, i., 58; Lambrechtsen's *New Netherlands*, *N. Y. Hist. Coll.*, s. 2, vol. i., 88; Heckewelder in *N. Y. Hist. Coll.*, s. 2, vol. i., 70; and Yate's and Moulton's *Hist. of New York*, i., 254. In 1611 the States General sent two ships, the *Fox* and the *Crane*, to find ■ route to China by the north; when, failing in the object of the voyage, like Hudson, they turned down the American coast and made some explorations. See *Col. Doc.*, i., 4; Van Meteren, vol. x., 461; Jeanin, iii, 276 *et seq.* See also catalogue of the Library of the Hon. H. C. Murphy 232, New York, 1884.

Holland from the West Indies, found himself at the mouth of the river ; but being heavily laden, and knowing that a ship from North Holland had been cast ashore on that coast, did not venture in. On reaching Holland, Christiansen joined with one Adriaen Block, chartered a ship and made a voyage to the Hudson. The same year, 1612, probably at its close, Christiansen and Block came out again with two ships, the *Fortune* and the *Tiger*. While they were preparing to return to Holland the *Tiger* took fire and was completely destroyed. During the winter of 1613-14 we find Christiansen living with his men in huts on the shore and engaged in constructing a yacht, the first vessel known to have been built by Europeans on the Hudson. Block returned to Holland. Christiansen, it is said, made no less than ten voyages to the Hudson, where he was finally murdered by the Indians.¹

The Dutch are witnesses to the activity of the French during this period. The "Figurative Map" presented to the States General at the close of 1614 has a legend placed near Albany, which, when translated, reads : "As far as one can learn from what the Maquaas (Mohawks) say and indicate, the French come with shaloups as high up as their country to trade with them." That there were some French on the Hudson in 1613 is possibly indicated by the fact that a child was born here in 1614. We learn this from the journal of the Labadists, who, September 24, 1679, "conversed with the first male born of Europeans in New Netherlands, named *Jean Vigné*. His parents were from Valenciennes, and he was now about sixty-five years of age." This seems to show that the first child born here was French, his parents evidently

¹ *N. Y. Doc. Hist.*, iii., 25 ; *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Col.*, 357-8, vol. ii., series 2. See *Relations des Jésuites*, 1858, vol. i., Année, 1611, 62. DeWitt's *Discourse*, 21.

being Huguenots ; there may, however, have been other births before his, as he is described as the "first male born."¹

The Dutch had already built a fort on an island a little way below Albany, which they called "Fort Nassau."² There is no evidence that at this period the French had ever given them any trouble ; not so with the English, who from the beginning persistently denied the right of the Dutch to a foothold here, and lost no opportunity to assert their view of the case. Thus it appears that, in 1613, the Dutch on Manhattan Island were obliged to make their submission to the English, under Argall, who, returning from the destruction of the Jesuit establishment at Mount Desert, found "four houses built and a pretended Dutch governor." The Labadists were told by the Indians that the English "always disputed the first possession" with the Dutch, while the official papers of the latter show that in 1621 they did not pretend to make any actual claim to the country, seeking simply to regulate traffic in connection therewith.³

The question about the rights of the English and

¹ *Memoirs of the Long Island Historical Society*, vol. i., 114. Sarah Rapalje, commonly spoken of as the first child born in New Netherlands, was born June 9, 1625. Vigné was one of the great burghers, and was *Schepen* in 1655-6-61 and 63.

² Wassenaar, *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, iii., 27, locates the fort on the north side of the river, evidently guided by the situation of the legend on the map ; but De Laet puts it where it belongs, saying, "a fort was built here in 1614, upon an island on the west side of the river." *N. Y. Coll.*, s. 2, vol. i., 299. The statement that the fort on the island referred to was built by the French has no foundation. The Labadists, who saw the remains of it in 1680, were told by some uninformed person that it was built by the Spaniards, but they declined to believe it. *Mem. of the L. I. Hist. Soc.*, vol. i., 318. See also *The Churchman*, August 1, 1884. The Figurative Map is found in *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, i., 13.

³ A curious document in the State Paper Office, a composition abounding in errors, also recognizes the alleged transaction in connection with the Dutch, referring "to their engagement given to Sir Samuëll Argoll, that they would come thither noe more." *State Papers, Colonial Series*, vol. xvii., No. 114.

"*Plantagenet's Description of the Province of New Albion*, reprinted in Force's

Dutch in New Netherlands does not require full treatment in the present history. Two points are clear : that attempts were made by the Dutch, from time to time, to set up a jurisdiction and acquire a right of possession adverse to all other occupants ; and that the English constantly resisted their proceedings and denied their claim ; nay more, it is also clear, that whenever the English stated their objections to the action of the Dutch, the latter gave way, declaring, as one might express it, that they intended no offence and would not insist on anything. A kind of claim was thus set up Oct. 11, 1614, before the States General, to a certain jurisdiction within the region lying in America, between New France and Virginia, the sea-coasts whereof extend from the fortieth to the fifty-fifth degree of latitude, now named New Netherlands, and a charter was given to a company of memorialists to make four voyages within three years and to have the exclusive right to the Dutch trade in this entire region from the Hudson to Cape Breton. The memorialists based their application on the ground that during "the present year" they had "discovered and found" all this region, meaning thereby that they had explored it, for this was the sense in which they used the word "discover." The claim was a baseless one, as it had been discovered already by others, while there was no denial of the right of other

Tracts, says vol. ii., 18 (C. II.) of Argall's party, that they landed at "Manhata's Isle in *Hudson's* River, where they found four houses built, and a pretended Dutch Governour, under the West India Company of *Amsterdam* share or part ; who kept trading BOATS, and trucking with the Indians ; but the said Knights told him their Commission was to expell him and all Aliens Intruders on his Majesties Dominion and Territories, this being part of *Virginia*, and this river an English discovery of *Hudson* an English man, the Dutch man contented them for their charge and voiage, and by his Letter sent to Virginia and recorded, submitted himself Company and Plantation to his Majesty and to the Governour and Government of *Virginia* !" Plantagenet, who wrote in 1648, adds the fact, also recorded by the Dutch, that the home authorities disavowed all responsibility for these settlers in Manhattan. Heylin, in his *Cosmography*, 1652, repeats the account, as does Stith in his *History of Virginia*.

nations to trade at the Hudson. The Dutch simply claimed the right of their own traders to barter at the Hudson, and that right was waived when necessary.

In 1616 the "Directors of New Netherland," as they styled themselves, applied to the States General for an extension of privileges, having no governing power, and being represented at Manhattan by the person whom Argall styled "the pretended Governor." Nothing seems to have come of this application, but the subject came up again in 1620. In the summer of that year, Captain Thomas Dermer, an agent of Gorges, returning from Virginia to New England, found at the mouth of the Hudson certain Hollanders in trade with the natives. Dermer forbade them the place, as being by his Majesty the King of England appointed to his subjects; they expressed ignorance and "hoped they had not offended"; but after Dermer had gone they continued their trade. We learn from the "Brief Narration" of Gorges, that the English Ambassador at the Hague brought the subject to the notice of the States General in the following year, 1621, when the reply was, that "they knew of no such thing," and that "if there were any, it was without their authority."¹ Captain John Mason, in writing to Coke, also testified that the Dutch Ambassador, Caron, referring to the intrusion of the Dutch, "did disclayme, disavowing any such act that was done by their people with their authority."² It is clear that at this time the States General made no exclusive claim to the territory; and another

¹ See Gorges's "Brief Narration," *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, series 3, vol. vi., 44-93.

² It has been said that no confirmation of this has been found in the Dutch archives, but none is needed; for Dudley Carlton, the English Ambassador at the Hague, reported to his government, in February, 1621, that he could not learn, either in commercial or diplomatic circles, of "anie Colonie eyther already planted there by these people, or so much as intended"; while Plantagenet distinctly affirms that "the States of Holland, by their publique instrument, declared those men trading at the Hudson to be mere private adventurers." When Carlton brought the subject to

fact may here be noted, that the original destination of the English who came out in 1620 was the Hudson, and not Plymouth.

In 1621 the States-General took action of great importance, in granting a patent to a body afterward known as the West India Company, which was empowered, on certain conditions, to conduct an exclusive trade in North and South America and Africa.¹

This Company was organized and clothed with vice-regal powers. Within the vast limits set by the patent, the company could build forts, appoint commanders, and maintain order and justice, and thus protect themselves from "pirates, extortion, and otherwise." It is said, incidentally, that "they must advance the peopling of those fruitful and unsettled parts," but the Patent shows that the main object of the company was trade, and that any "peopling" contemplated was purely with reference to carrying on business in an efficient manner. No plan of colonization was projected or hinted at, in connection with either of the continents included in the Patent, while New Netherlands was not even referred to, the design being to establish military trading-posts

the notice of the States General, February 9, 1622, the officials still pleaded ignorance of any intention to conflict with English interests in America. See *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, iii., 17; and *Calendar of State Papers* (Colonial), A.D. 1622-24, 26. *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, iii., 7. "New Albion" in Force's *Tracts*, vol. ii., c. ii., 18.

¹ The patent recites, "That for the term of four-and-twenty years, none of the natives or inhabitants of these countries shall be permitted to sail to or from the said lands, or to traffic on the coast and countries of Africa, from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope, nor in the countries of America, or the West Indies, beginning at the fourth end of Terra Nova, by the Straits of Magellan, La Maire, or any other straits and passages situated thereabouts to the Straits of Anian, as well on the North Sea as the South Sea, nor on any islands situated on the one side or the other, or between both; nor in the western or southern countries, reaching, lying and between both the meridians, from the Cape of Good Hope, in the east, to the east end of New Guinea, in the west, inclusive, but in the name of this United Company of these United Netherlands." O'Callaghan's *History*, i., 399. Hazard's *State Papers*, Phil. 1792, vol. i., 149, 174, 181. See on the French Seignories established on Lakes George and Champlain. *N. Y. Doc. History*, i., 348-375.

wherever the opportunity was offered and to injure Spain by all the means in their power.¹ The company was not exclusively a Dutch company. The agreement of 1623 provided that "foreigners" might become stockholders, and the subscription books were actually kept open for them two months longer than for the Dutch.

The Patent of the Dutch Company, however, did not take its final form until June 21, 1623²; and in the meanwhile, September 15, 1621, the *White Dove*, under Houten, was licensed to make a voyage to "North" Virginia, and Volckersten and others were allowed to send out a ship to "the Virginias." The Rev. Peter Plancius, the well-known Dutch geographer, with others, dispatched two ships to trade on the North and South rivers; but these vessels were required to return to Holland not later than July 1, 1622. In all these transactions there was a complete avoidance of the setting up of any claim in New Netherlands against the English. As already related, Carlton, the English Ambassador, had warned the States General against that course, and the warning had been heeded. In the meanwhile, November 3, 1620, King James granted to the North Virginia Company, whose headquarters were at Plymouth, England, the entire territory between Newfoundland and Philadelphia.³ That the very largeness of the charter led to Parliamentary protest does not affect the reality of the English claim. The protest was aimed simply

¹ Asher says of the Dutch West India Company that "They disdained the peaceful arts by which other privileged associations of the same class have grown mighty and rich. Their aim was to attack the Spaniard in his transatlantic strongholds; to sink or take the ships in which he transported his silver and gold; to cut him off, if possible, from all connections with the New World." xxxi.

² De Læt, *Jaertijck Verhael*; in Hazard's *State Papers*, i., 149, 174, 181; and O'Callaghan's *Hist. of New Netherlands*, i., 410, x.

³ The charter of 1606, it will be remembered, left the region in latitude of 40° N. to be settled by either the North or South Virginia Company.

against a monopoly. The right of England to the territory was recognized by the protestors, whatever may have been the demur of the French.

We now come to a turning point in our narration. A movement occurred soon after the completion of an agreement between the Managers and Adventurers of the West India Company, June 21, 1623, which, intended to harmonize the interests of all the proprietors, led to active measures in connection with North American colonization, and brought on a situation of the utmost importance to the future of the region; indeed, it is at this point that the history of the City of New York may be said to begin.

CHAPTER II.

DUTCH OCCUPATION OF MANHATTAN ISLAND.

General Review of the Dutch Claim—the Walloons among the First Settlers—Cornelis Jacobson May—Peter Minuit, Director—the Patroons of New Netherlands—the Dutch Church formally Established—Religious Intolerance and Persecution—Dissatisfaction with Dutch rule—Gradual Deterioration and Decline of the Colony—Surrender to the English in 1664.

THE most interesting episode in the history of Manhattan Island is its occupation by the Dutch for 40 years, from 1624 till the final surrender to the English, 1664. The City of New York bears to this day the impress of that early colonization, and will, no doubt, retain it for years to come. We concede to the doughty and honest folk who once ruled over their little village at the end of the island the honor and credit of having set an example of many admirable and praiseworthy qualities, but decline to countenance the pretensions recently made in their behalf, by persons who seem persuaded that all that was best in English civilization was due to Dutch influence, and that the New World was chiefly indebted to Holland for what it secured on the line of popular government, religious toleration, and cultivation in learning and the arts. The Hollanders were a most interesting people ; there is much that is attractive and pleasant in the story of "New Amsterdam." Their manners were simple ; their attachment to home and home life intensely strong ; they laid great stress on the education of their children, and paid due respect to religion ; their annals

have a raciness and quaintness which render the perusal entertaining and agreeable; and those of us who were brought up under the influence of Dutch traditions and customs will always retain a kindly sympathy with them, and hold them in cordial recollection. But, however strongly the tide of affectionate regard goes out to our Dutch friends, it must be remembered that they never succeeded in proving their original right to this section of the country; that their claims, whenever presented, were always denied; that their position was what may be called an impossible one, considered with reference to a permanent establishment; and that the administration of affairs in New Amsterdam went from bad to worse, till it reached a state in which the interests of the whole population made radical change imperative. The Dutch had no rights here by virtue of discovery; for the river and the bay had been well known since Verrazano's voyage in 1524. They had no rights by virtue of charter; three years before the voyage of Hudson (who was himself an Englishman, and of whose crew half were English) the region had been doubly covered by patents issued by King James to the North and South Virginia Companies, who commenced colonization both in New England and in Virginia in 1607; a royal donation based on the claim of England to the North American mainland, acquired by John Cabot in 1497. So that, in fact, the whole country was "pre-empted," as the Dutch very well knew, both by virtue of priority of discovery and formal occupation,¹ and

¹ In the Letters Patent of King James I., "for two several colonies and plantations to be made in Virginia and other Parts and Territories of America, dated April 10, 1606," license was given for colonizing "that part of *America*, commonly called VIRGINIA, and other Parts and Territories in *America*, either appertaining unto us, or which are not now actually possessed by any *Christian* Prince or People, situate, lying, and being all along the Sea Coasts, between four and thirty Degrees of *Northerly* Latitude from the Equinoctial Line, and five and forty Degrees of the same Latitude, and in the main land between the same four and thirty and five and forty degrees,

the shadow of a claim set up by the Dutch at a subsequent period, that the Spaniards had the right to original possession, and that the Dutch came in as vassals and subjects of the King of Spain, was too preposterous to be seriously maintained. Finally, their claim on the ground of a *bona fide* purchase of Manhattan Island from the Indians, could not be pressed without calling attention to a discreditable transaction, in which the unlucky Indians and the Islands thereunto adjacent, or within one hundred Miles of the Coasts thereof."

Page 1 of an "Appendix to the First Part of the History of Virginia : containing a Collection of such Ancient Charters or Letters Patent, as relate to that Period of Time, and are still extant in our publick Office in the *Capitol*, or in other Authentic Papers and Records." Reprinted, as the appendix to *The History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia*. By William Stith.

King James in his Second Charter, "for the further enlargement and explanation of the privileges of the said Company and first Colony of Virginia, Dated May 23, 1609," grants and confirms to said Company all the lands in that part of Virginia "from the Point of Land, called *Cape* or *Point Comfort* all along the sea coast to the *northward* two hundred Miles, and from the said Point of *Cape Comfort* all along the Sea Coast, to *Southward* two hundred miles, and all that Space and Circuit of Land, lying from the Sea Coast of the Precinct, aforesaid, up into the land throughout from sea to sea, *West* and *Northwest*. And also all the Islands, lying within one hundred Miles, along the Coast of both Seas of the Precinct, aforesaid," etc. *Ibid.*, 15.

In the third Charter of King James I., March 12, 1611-12, the same provision is found "up or into the Land, throughout from Sea to Sea, *West* and *North-west*," etc. *Ibid.*, 23.

In the Charter of 1609 appears the provision securing to intending settlers and their offspring the inalienable rights of free-born Englishmen. To this chartered right our fathers, at the opening of the war for independence, appealed in defence of their resistance to British tyranny. The clause is as follows :

"Also, we do for Us, our Heirs, and Successors, DECLARE, by these Presents, that all and every the Persons, being our Subjects, which shall go and inhabit within the said Colony and Plantation, and every of their Children and Posterity, which shall happen to be born within any the Limits thereof, shall HAVE AND ENJOY all Liberties, Franchises, and Immunities of free Denizens and natural Subjects, within any of our other Dominions, to all Intents and Purposes, as if they had been abiding and born, within this our Realm of *England*, or in any other of our Dominions." *Ibid.*, Sec. xxii., 20.

Here is the original charter of liberties which the war for independence confirmed and made national. For this, and the common law as well as for the English Bible the English Christianity, and the English tongue, we may thank our old-time connection with Virginia, the mother of States as well as Presidents.

(Bishop Perry : Historical Address delivered in St. John's Church, Dubuque, written on occasion the Semi-centennial Celebration of organization of the parish.)

complained bitterly that they had been—to put it mildly—overreached. The facts are, that the Dutch occupation was simply due to a favorable conjuncture, of which the States-General availed themselves ; and that it terminated, as soon as affairs changed, without bloodshed and with little serious opposition. The historical episode is interesting, but not of constraining importance. There was every reason why the Dutch should yield their ground when they did. During their 40 years of occupancy, the English had persistently denied their rights to that position, while New England confidently looked forward to the time when their occupation would be terminated. It was not an unreasonable expectation ; for even if the Dutch had possessed a good title, and had managed their affairs with prudence and ability, a glance at the map will show that the position could not have been permanently retained. Wedged in between the English settlements on the North, and Virginia on the South, and unable to keep their foothold by arms, it was merely a question of time before inexorable laws must take their course. When the settlement passed into the hands of the English, it went to those who had the right on their side. Far from regarding the occupation of New Amsterdam by the land and naval forces of England as a political crime, we consider it as the natural and inevitable result of causes which it was impossible to resist, and as making for the welfare of the colonists of all nations on the North Atlantic coast.

It is not necessary, for the purpose of this history, to dwell at length on the “New Amsterdam” era ; a few remarks will suffice. The foundation of the settlement may be dated from 1621, when the States-General of Holland gave the West India Company its charter. With the arrival of Cornelis Jacobs and his company of Walloons, the formal occupation of the place began ; and

it is important to note that the first settlers were French, and not Dutch. We are not aware that any connection has yet been pointed out between the granting of the patent of the West India Company and the movement for planting a colony; the latter originated with the French, who were the first to avail themselves of the offers of the West India Company to carry their plans and wishes into effect.

The Walloons were a Romance people of Gallican and Teutonic origin, who had crossed the French border and settled in Belgium, chiefly in Hainault, Namur, Luxemburg, Limburg, and Liege.¹ Their language is an old dialect of the French; it has a small literature of its own. Of these Walloons many embraced the Reformed faith, and were obliged to fly in consequence, being expelled by the Spaniards from the Catholic Netherlands; many passed into Holland, and some found their way to England. From some of these people, desirous of finding a settled home, came a petition to King James, in 1621, for permission to go to Virginia and there to form an establishment of their own. They had high and aristocratic notions; they wished to live as nobles, in a kind of feudal system, and asked that they might be granted, in the new country, certain extraordinary and exclusive privileges for themselves and their descendants.² The petition was

¹ Dr. De Witt writes: "Bordering on France, and speaking the French language, they were termed *Gallois*, which was changed, in Low Dutch, into *Waalsche*, and in English into *Walloon*." *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, 1848, 75. See Baird's *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America*, i., chap. 2 and Riker's *Harlem*, 13.

² "Would not he [the King] grant them a banlieu or territory of eight English miles all around, *i. e.*, sixteen miles in diameter, which they might cultivate as fields, meadows, vineyards, and in other ways; which territory they should hold from his said Majesty, either conjointly or severally, in such fealty as his said Majesty may deem reasonable, without any other person being able to reside there unless by taking ■ patent (*lettre de baillette*) of the land therein contained, in which would be reserved Inferior Seignorial Rights; and whether those amongst them who could live as nobles would not be permitted to declare themselves such." *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iii., 9.

denied and the scheme, though twice proposed, in 1621, and again, in 1622, fell through.

It does not appear where these ambitious petitioners resided at the time of their application to the English authorities; but after failing in the design to settle in Virginia, some of them turned their attention to the Dutch, and probably made application to the West India Company. A resolution was offered to the States-General, April 21, 1622, stating that the Directors of the Company had examined a paper relative to families desiring to be conveyed to the West Indies, and that they reported in favor of it. In 1623 the Walloons appeared in the Hudson River.

The story is told by Wassenaar, who says that in the spring of 1623, the West India Company equipped "a vessel of 130 lasts, called the *New Netherlands*, whereof Cornelis Jacobs of Hoorn was Skipper, with thirty families, mostly Walloons." They sailed by way of the Canaries, and reached the Hudson River. These Walloons were no doubt French Huguenots, though probably not of the extreme aristocratic type before referred to. The *New Netherlands*, on her arrival, was joined by the yacht *Mackerel*, which had come over by way of the West Indies the previous year.¹ She found a French ship in the harbor, which, with the aid of the *Mackerel* she attacked and drove away. On the *New Netherlands* was one Catalina Trico, born in Paris.

Wassenaar further states that the ship² sailed up to Albany, then called Fort Orange, while Catalina Trico, in her deposition, testifies that "When as y^e ship came as farr as Sopus, which is $\frac{1}{2}$ way to Albanie; they lightened y^e ship wth some boats y^t were left there by y^e Dutch that

¹ Wassenaar in *N. Y. Doc. Hist.*, iii., 24.

² *Ibid.*, iii., 23.

had been there y^e year before a tradeing wth y^e Indians upont their oune accompts & gone back again to Holland, and so brought y^e vessel up.”¹

She also testified under oath that, “As soon as they came to Mannatans, now called N: York, they sent Two families & six men to harford River & Two families and 8 men to Delaware River.”

The English appear to have been well informed respecting this movement, and said at once that it contemplated an intrusion upon their patent. An arrangement was accordingly made to dispossess the invaders, as may be learned from a letter written on board the *Bonnie Bess*, off the Isle of Wight, May 4, 1623; but the Walloons had reached their destination, while the English ship arrived in Virginia too late in the season to make the intended attack upon the colonists at the Hudson. But for the bad weather encountered by the *Bonnie Bess*, this occupation of Manhattan might have been nipped in the bud, as the English were instructed to give them fight, spoil, and sink them into the sea.

Cornelis Jacobson May became the first Director of Manhattan, which now received the name of New Netherland.

“After a service of one year only he was succeeded by William Verhulst. The English continued to regard these proceedings with disapproval. That same year a Dutch ship, the *Orange Tree*, returning to Holland from Netherlands, was seized in the harbor of Plymouth in England: but the affairs of King James I. were in a condition which prevented him from efficiently asserting English rights in that direction. James died in 1625, and Charles I., his successor, was compelled to form a treaty with Holland in view of impending operations against Spain; so that England was practically debarred from interference with the little colony on the Hudson. In 1626 Peter Minuit was appointed to succeed Verhulst. Arriving in May, he at once assumed a

¹ *N. Y. Doc. Hist.*, iii., 32.

strong and aggressive policy, reflecting the will of the Company, which was to be 'the supreme law of New Netherland.' The position was deemed of great value, as a station whence the Dutch might sally forth to attack the Spaniards, while, still further to strengthen themselves, they established a station on the Delaware, near Trenton, where several French families were settled."

Affairs now assumed a more settled aspect. A fort was built on the site of the Bowling Green and named Fort Amsterdam. Provision was made for religious services, and though no clergyman had yet come over, the colonists had two "Krank-be-soeckers," Sebastian Jansen Krol and Jan Huyck, whose duty it was to look after and console the sick and "read to the Commonalty there on Sundays from texts of Scripture with the Comment." Some Spanish bells, captured at Porto Rico, were hung in a tower connected with a horse-mill, over which was constructed a spacious room sufficient to accommodate a large congregation. A small settlement was made at Fort Orange, the present Albany, but progress in that direction was retarded by trouble with the Indians, who came into conflict with the Dutch, killed one of them and devoured his body "after he had been well roasted." Negotiations with the colony in Plymouth under Governor Bradford were opened, but the result was a denial of the Dutch claims, and a warning that their vessels might be seized by the New England fisherman or by the English from Virginia. The Dutch in reply claimed the right to trade based on occupation, while Bradford stood on the English right under the royal patents, suggesting that an agreement between the two governments would be necessary to prevent a collision. Bradford felt kindly towards the Dutch, on account of the old relations with them in Holland, and desired to make it as comfortable for them as possible. This, however, was the opening of a contro-

versy that lasted until 1663, when the Dutch lost their power.¹ First and last, even from the day in 1613 when the Dutch made their submission to Argall, the right of Holland was denied.

In 1628 the Dutch received their first minister, the Rev. Jonas Michaelius, from the Synod of North Holland, who is said to have established the first "form of a Church"; the "two Elders" being Minuit and Huyghen, "having both been formerly in office in the church, the one as Deacon and the other as Elder in the Dutch and French churches, respectively, at Wesel." At "the first administration of the Lord's Supper full fifty communicants . . . Walloons and Dutch," made "their first confession of faith before us, and others exhibited their Church certificates. Others had forgotten to bring their certificates with them, not thinking that a Church would be formed and established here," showing that they had regarded the colony more or less as a temporary station for trade and a military depot with reference to the Spanish possessions. Michaelius also says :

"We administer the Holy Sacrament of the Lord once in four months, provisionally until a larger number of people require. The Walloons and French have no service on Sundays otherwise than that in the Dutch language, of which they understand very little. . . . Some of them live far away," evidently referring to the upper end of the island, "and could not come on account of the heavy rains and storms, so that it was neither advisable nor was it possible to appoint any special service for so small a number with so much uncertainty. Nevertheless, the Lord's Supper was administered to them in the French

¹ October 11, 1627, Bradford wrote again, saying that the Dutch should "clear the title" to the lands they held in "these parts which His Majesty hath, by patent, granted to divers his nobles and subjects of quality, lest it be a bone of division in these stirring evil times, which God forbid. We persuade ourselves, that now may be easily and seasonably done, which will be harder and with more difficulty obtained hereafter, and perhaps not without blows." Bradford's *Letter Book*, 365. [Quoted in Brodhead's *History*, vol. i., 180.] The Dutch, however, took no action, and Mr. Brodhead fancies that it was because the treaty of 1625 gave the Dutch access to English ports.

mode, with a preceding discourse, which I had before me in writing, as I could not trust myself extemporaneously."

The West Indian Company were now amassing great wealth by their expeditions against the Spaniards, and New Netherlands reaped some benefit from the Dutch victories, which added Brazil to the Company's possessions. In fact the Dutch flag was everywhere successful upon the high seas. The Colony of New Netherlands, however, did not pay its expenses, and heavy drafts were made upon the Company's funds, while Minuit went home in disgrace.

In 1630 the charter of "Privileges and Exemptions" was granted by the Company to the Patroons of New Netherlands. By this charter a form of feudalism was established, and the Patroons were authorized to trade anywhere on the coast between Florida and Newfoundland. Other provisions were made for the encouragement of enterprise, but in subordination to the Company's interest, colonial manufactures and commerce being prohibited under the penalty of banishment and confiscation. The plan included provision for churches and schools. The practical establishment of the Dutch Church may be dated from the year 1629, at which time the services of this body enjoyed an exclusive legality.

In 1632, another Dutch ship from New Netherlands was seized at Plymouth, England, into which port she had been driven by bad weather, and when application was made to the king for her release, he replied that his father, James I., "had interdicted their [the Dutch] subjects from trading in those regions," and declined to grant the order. At a subsequent period the ship was released from arrest, the warrant bearing the qualification, "saving any prejudice to His Majesties rights."¹

¹ The Dutch in their request for the release of the ship repeated the old argument,

During the administration of Wouter Van Twiller, who came over in 1633, matters went from bad to worse. In 1638 he was succeeded by Kieft, who found everything in a deplorable state. The fort and the church, both sadly out of repair, were types of the condition of other interests. Free trade, however, was proclaimed, and the colony became more hopeful; but Kieft, on the other hand, resolved to lay tribute on the savages. DeVries, then in the Colony, thought the banks of the Hudson "little fitted to be peopled." The "Church," mentioned in the Dutch records, seems to have been a small wooden building on the East River, near the Old Slip. The meeting-place over the horse-mill had been abandoned on the arrival of Domine Bogardus in 1633, who took the place of Michaelius and lived in a house built for him close to the church.¹

In 1640 we come to what must be regarded as the formal re-establishment of the Dutch Church. This was done by a provision of the Company in a new charter given to the Patroons. It was provided that "No other religion was to be publicly tolerated or allowed in New Netherlands, save that then taught and exercised by authority in the Reformed Church in the United Provinces, for the inculcation of which the Company promised to support

beginning with the "discovery" of the Hudson in 1609, and the "purchase" of the Island in 1627. The English replied on the ground of "first discovery, occupation and possession," denying that the purchase from the savages was valid. See Mr. Brodhead's treatment of the subject in *History*, i., 216-17.

¹See De Witt's *Discourse*, etc., 1857, 23. For the State toleration at this period, see the articles proposed by the company at Amsterdam, August 30, 1638: "Religion shall be taught and preached there according to the Confession and formularies of union here publicly accepted in the respective churches, with which every one shall be satisfied and content, without, however, it being inferred from this, that any person shall be hereby in any wise constrained or aggrieved in his conscience, but every man shall be free to live up to his own in peace and decorum; provided he avoid frequenting any forbidden assemblies or conventicles, much less collect or get up any such." *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, i., 110.

and maintain good and fit preachers, schoolmasters, and comforters of the sick."¹

The case of Francis Doughty shows, however, that the Dutch were not severely strict in this particular, as he received a patent from Governor Kieft for lands at Newtown, Long Island, where he and English settlers might enjoy freedom of religion and worship as they pleased. Doughty came to Newtown, accordingly, and later on appeared in New Amsterdam, where he preached in the Dutch Church and the people made two collections for his support. There is ground to believe that the explanation of their toleration of Doughty lay in the fact that the Dutch were getting into serious peril, and were inclined to do all in their power to placate a class of English whose co-operation was sorely needed at the time.²

In September, 1643, Father Jogues, S. J., having escaped from the Mohawks, visited New York, and was kindly entertained. He wrote an account of Manhattan, where he found four or five hundred men of different religion and nationality, speaking eighteen different languages. This shows that representatives of all the leading nations of the day were then in the colony, and yet, under the Dutch rule, as Jogues says, "no religion except the Calvinistic was publicly exercised, and the orders were to admit none but Calvinists."³ He was given a free pas-

¹ See O'Callaghan's *New Netherland* (i., 220.,) where this Roman Catholic writer brings out the fullest strength of the language, and compare with the translation in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, i., 123. Brodhead (i., 312) says, that no other religion was to be "publicly sanctioned," which is very different from the actual provision, that no other religion should be "tolerated."

² Brodhead's *History of New York*, i., 333, and O'Callaghan's *New Netherland*, ii., 257. See Briggs's *Am. Presbyterianism*, 101. Kieft afterward disagreed with Doughty and committed him to prison for a space of 24 hours for contempt of court. *N. Y. Col. History*, i., 305-6. Mr. Brodhead (i., 555) refers to the Dutch having sheltered Capt. Underhill when humiliated by the ecclesiastical discipline of Massachusetts, but he was sheltered simply because the Dutch wanted his military services.

³ Brodhead's *History of New York*, i., 374.

sage to Europe, being the first Roman priest now known to have entered the province of New York.

The next year the Dutch with the aid of English soldiers made a terrible attack upon the Indians in Connecticut, upward of five hundred of whom perished by fire and sword; whereupon Kieft ordered a general thanksgiving.

In May, 1647, the famous Peter Stuyvesant arrived at New Amsterdam and superseded Kieft, who retired in disgrace, like his predecessors.

The annals of New Amsterdam, during the closing years, are not pleasant to read. The colony was full of the elements of social and political disease; and the Dutch domination was hastening to its inevitable downfall. The document entitled, *Breeden Raedt*, containing a remonstrance on the part of many inhabitants of the New Netherlands, and sent home to the government in Holland, presents a painful picture of the state of affairs, the revelations concerning the administration of Governor Kieft being repulsive. It is said "that he never wished to hear God's word, or partake of Christian sacraments, doing everything to keep from church those who depended on him." Even de la Montaigne, the Huguenot, appears to poor advantage. Noisy games were played near the church, persons going in to the Communion Service were scoffed at, indecent language was used, drums were beaten and cannons discharged, "so that a miserable villainy against God's Church was perpetrated in order to disturb the congregation."¹ Making allowances for exaggeration this important document throws a sombre shadow on a scene of moral decline and political decay.

In 1652, war broke out between England and Holland, and Tromp engaged Blake in the Straits of Dover. New

¹ "Breeden Raedt" or "Broad Advice," *N. Y. Hist. Soc'y Coll.*, iii., 1857, 260.

Amsterdam was now, of course, on the alert against the English. At this period a municipal government was inaugurated, going into operation in 1653.

It is a general, though a mistaken, impression that freedom of conscience and religious liberty were enjoyed by all residents in New Netherland. The facts do not bear out the assertion. The Calvinistic Dutch Church of Holland was established by law, as has been observed, and there was great jealousy on the subject of non-conformists. In 1654, the Lutherans had become so numerous as to desire a clergyman of their own persuasion, but this was refused. An appeal to the West India Company was of no avail, their petition being opposed by the Dutch at New Amsterdam, on the ground that, if the Lutherans were tolerated, the English would demand the same liberty. Stuyvesant was accordingly told to do all in his power to bring the Lutherans into the Dutch Church, and, in communicating the decision to the Lutherans, Megapolensis and Drisius, the Directors hoped that the Reformed religion would be "preserved and maintained without hindrance from the Lutheran and other errors."¹

In 1656 the Dutch clergy complained of conventicles held at Middleburgh (Newtown), "from which nothing could be expected but discord, confusion, and disorder in Church and State," and Stuyvesant issued a proclamation on behalf of the "Reformed religion," forbidding unauthorized preachers to exercise their vocation and to set up conventicles not in harmony with the Synod of Dort. Preachers and people alike were threatened with heavy fines, though family worship was not interdicted.²

The proclamation was enforced, the Lutherans being

¹ Brodhead i., 582, who refers to *Cor. Cl. Amsterdam*; Letter of Megapolensis and Drisius, 6th October, 1653; Letter of Classis, 26th February, 1654; *Alb. Rec.*, iv., 130.

² O'Callaghan's *New Netherland*, ii., 317.

the first against whom proceedings were taken. Complaints having been sent to Holland, Stuyvesant was admonished by the Company; and the Lutherans were allowed to exercise their religion in private houses at Middleburgh.¹ This, naturally, did not satisfy them, but the Governor was firm against conventicles, and the Lutherans were repressed at Beverwyck as elsewhere. The Baptists at Flushing were also proceeded against, and two members of the sect were fined and banished.²

In 1657, the Quaker women Dorothy Waugh and Mary Witherhead, who preached in the streets of New York, were arrested, imprisoned, discharged, and sent to Rhode Island, "where," as the Dutch ministers reported to the Holland Classis, "all kinds of scum dwell, for it is nothing else than a sink for New England."³ One Robert Hodshone, however, went to Long Island, and preached at Hempstead, when he was sentenced to labor two years at a wheelbarrow, along with a negro, or pay a fine of six hundred guilders. He refused to work, and was beaten with a rope until he dropped, and after frequent whippings and imprisonments was banished.⁴ Henry Townsend, for holding a meeting in his house, at Rustdorp (now Jamaica) was banished, and a proclamation was issued prohibiting any person from entertaining a Quaker for a single night. Twenty-nine inhabitants of Jamaica rebelled, but were speedily crushed and humiliated, while Townsend again found himself in prison.⁵ In 1661 the Quakers were persecuted, feeling the heavy hand of Stuyvesant again the next year. Bowne was fined and

¹ Brodhead, i., 617. The Company regretted to hear that Stuyvesant had "oppressed them with imprisonment," but consented only to liberty in private houses.

² O'Callaghan's *New Netherland*, ii., 321; and Brodhead, i., 626.

³ Brodhead, i., 636; O'Callaghan, ii., 347.

⁴ O'Callaghan's *New Netherland*, ii., 347-9.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 350-2, 450.

banished, while, September 21, 1662, a proclamation was issued against any religion except the Dutch Reformed "in houses, barns, ships or yachts, in the woods, or fields, under the penalty of fifty guilders for the first offence."¹

Bowne went to Holland and entered a complaint, when the Company seeing that persecution would not avail, told Stuyvesant that "some connivance" was "useful, and that at least the consciences of men ought to remain free and unshackled," and while unwilling to tolerate "Sectarians" it was thought best upon the whole to cease the persecution.²

During the latter days of the decadence that absurd claim was set up to which reference has already been made. Governor Stuyvesant's Commissioners being in Maryland, October 6, 1659, took the ground that the Dutch received their title to New Netherland from Spain, and that "when we were obliged to take up arms and achieved our liberty, the King of Spain conveyed over and to us, in full propriety, by lawful right and title, all his own and other conquered lands in Europe and America." The Commissioners did not mention the precise time at which this alleged conquest was made, but the claim was repeated in the following year; and in 1660 the Directors of the West India Company also took the same ground. Thus deplorably were the Dutch reduced; and their advocates, perceiving the ridiculous character of the argument, have quietly ignored the subject.³

Events were progressing rapidly, and the time of the end had come. In November, 1663, the English towns

¹ O'Callaghan's *New Netherland*, ii., 453-456-7; Brodhead, i., 705-6.

² Brodhead i., 707; O'Callaghan's *New Netherland*, ii., 457.

³ See *History of New York*, i., 663-670. Yates and Moulton allude to it, in *History of the State of New York*, i., 1824, vol. i., 182. O'Callaghan, in *New Netherland*, ii., 381, lays aside his judgment by following Yates and Moulton, who took their information from documents found in *N. Y. Hist. Society's Col.*, iii., 368. See the papers in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, ii., 80-91-93.

at the west end of Long Island declared their independence of the Dutch, and proclaimed allegiance to the King of England. Symptoms of bankruptcy became more threatening from year to year; in vain did the Company endeavor to obtain from Holland either armed assistance or funds with which to pay their arrears; equally futile were their efforts to combine with the East India Company; at last creditors began to seize the Company's property. The death-blow was struck in 1664, when New Netherland, the Company's last valuable possession, was surrendered to the English. The population at that time did not exceed fifteen hundred souls, of whom about thirteen hundred were women and children under age. O'Callaghan sums up the case in words which, though painful, are borne out by history. Referring to the "Administration of the last of the Dutch Governors," he says of it, that it

"Was one of trouble and anxiety. Discontents and broils were its sponsors; clamors and disaffection its pall-bearers; whilst scarcely an hour of its existence was free from menace or danger from its neighbors, whether savage or civilized. Lacking those impulses which filled other colonies so rapidly, whatever advantages the Dutch province possessed from nature were seriously counterbalanced by the vicious system under which it was colonized, and the institutions under which it was governed, which would convert settlers into serfs, and by constant petty intermeddling, hamper their exertions and paralyze their energies." Vol. ii., 539.

CHAPTER III.

JAMES, DUKE OF YORK, PROPRIETOR.

Appointment of the Duke of York to the Charge of Affairs in America—Surrender of New Amsterdam—Generous Treatment of the Dutch by Their Conquerors—The Duke's Laws—Lovelace Succeeds Nicolls—Virtual Establishment of the Reformed Dutch Church in New York by the English Rulers—The Dutch Regain Possession—Disgrace of Lovelace and Confiscation of His Property by the Crown—Re-occupation of the Town by the English—The Bogardus Farm, its Sale to Lovelace and Subsequent History—Governor Andros—Rev. Charles Wolley, Chaplain to the Forces—The Labadists Witness a Church of England Service—Governor Dongan; His Just and Impartial Administration—The Book of Common Prayer in Use on Long Island—Rev. Samuel Eburne at Brookhaven—Advances toward Civil and Religious Freedom—Death of King Charles II.

ONE of the first acts of King Charles II., on his accession to the throne of his ancestors, was to remit the entire care and management of North American affairs to his brother James, then Duke of York. In this the king acted wisely, for no man then living knew so much about them as James, or was so competent to deal with them at that critical hour. The state of affairs called for prompt and resolute action. The foothold of England was secure in Virginia, Maryland, and New England; and New England included, at that time, the eastern part of Long Island. To the north, however, lay Acadia and Canada, occupied by England's hereditary foes, the French; and thence came perpetual menace along the line of sea coast, rivers, and lakes, and from dense forests filled with Indians allied with France. It was of urgent importance to England to consolidate her scattered strength, and remove, if

possible, the obstacle to a union between her northern and southern possessions. New Amsterdam, like a wedge, split those possessions in two ; and the Duke of York well knew the present and prospective value of the tract, of which the occupation and possession were a strategical necessity. The coast-line, including the finest harbor and bay in the whole region, must be completed and her colonies united before England could be secure in her possessions ; France might seize what England should let slip from her hands ; and the question was, whether France or England should have the noble bay, the mighty river, the access to the lakes, and the road to Canada, and whether England could afford to risk being cut in twain by her most powerful and most dreaded enemy, with the Iroquois at his back. The stake was one about which there could be no trifling ; and the man in all England who was clear-headed enough to comprehend the situation, and bold enough to do what had to be done quickly, was the Duke of York.

In their just indignation at his subsequent acts as King of Great Britain, churchmen have not done justice to the sagacity and efficiency of the proprietor of the English colonies in North America. Not only did James Stuart display the higher qualities of the statesman in dealing with the question of the hour ; he foreshadowed, in his comprehensive designs, what has actually been accomplished by the American people after a century of experience and amid the horrors of a civil strife of unequalled dimensions and extent. There can be no doubt that it was in his mind to secure the whole coast from Acadia to Florida, to make the entire country English, to break up the petty oligarchies then in existence, to unite and consolidate the possessions of the Crown, and to put and keep them under one government. This is

substantially what has come to pass, as the doctrine of State Rights has yielded to the national idea in the history of our own Government. It is natural to feel pity for the little Dutch province, in its feebleness and decay, but every one must see that nothing could have saved it, and it seems contrary to common sense for us, as Americans to wish that it might have been saved. Grateful for the benefits undoubtedly derived to us from the old Knickerbocker days, we cherish a kindly remembrance of the honest Dutchmen; but there is no just ground of complaint that union and consolidation were effected, as they were, in the interests of English civilization, under the strong hand of that much-abused statesman the Duke of York.

The first steps of the proprietor were wary and cautious. He had received a patent from King Charles II., which included the entire region occupied by the Dutch—a region to which (as the reader must again be reminded) the English had always contended that Holland could show no just title—and invested him, his heirs and assigns with

“full and absolute power and authority to correct, punish, pardon, govern and rule all such subjects of us, Our Heirs and Successors, who may from time to time adventure themselves into any of the parts or places aforesaid, or that shall or do at any time hereafter inhabit within the same, according to such Laws, Orders, Ordinances, Directions, and Instruments as by our said Dearest Brother or his Assigns shall be established.”¹

The proprietor began by sending out a commission to New England, consisting of Col. Richard Nicolls, Sir Robert Carr, Col. George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick, the first three being officers in the Royal Army.²

¹ The original Patent is in the State Library at Albany. See copy in Brodhead, ii., 651, and also *Doc. Col. Hist. N. F.*, series 1, vol. i., 3.

² On Maverick, one of the early settlers of Boston, see Sumner's *History of East Boston*, 155, and Drake's *History of Boston*, 57 *et seq.*

They were directed under general and special instructions, to visit the several New England Colonies, to hear and determine complaints and appeals, to take such order as might be necessary for the peace and well-being of the country, and, in view of the fact that their mission brought them in contact with suspicious and bitter persons intensely hostile to the established Church of England, they were counseled to exercise the utmost moderation and consideration for the religious prejudices of that difficult class of people. On that point the instructions, dated at Whitehall, April 23, 1664, were precise; they were dictated by policy, and probably also to some extent by indifference; at all events there is not a trace of a design to force the Church of England on the colonists, but simply to compel them to leave off ostracising and annoying churchmen, as it was the habit of the intolerant communities of New England to do. It is stated, that there is no intention to abridge or restrain the privileges or liberties previously granted and then enjoyed, nor in any way to interfere with the free exercise of the religion of the people; but the Commissioners are to insist that all who dissent from "the most rigid Presbyterian Government" which then existed in those parts, shall have the like liberty without undergoing any disadvantages with reference to their civil interest, but enjoy the same privilege with the rest; and especially they are required to see that

"such who desire to use y^e Book of Common Prayer may be permitted soe to doe wthout incurring any penalty reproach or disadvantage in his interest, it being very scandalous that any man should be debarred y^e exercise of his religion, according to y^e laws & custome of England, by those who by y^e indulgence granted have liberty left to be of what professⁿ in religion they please: in a word that persons of good & honest conversation who have lived long there may enjoy all y^e priviledges ecclesiasticall & civill w^{ch} are due to them, and

w^{ch} are enjoyed by oth^{rs}, as to choose and be chosen into places of government & the like ; and that differences in opinion doe not lessen their charity to each other, since charity is a fundamental in all religion." ¹

Private instructions were at the same time given to the Commissioners, in substance as follows : That they should be very careful neither to say nor to do anything from which the colonists might imagine that there was a design to alter their church government or to introduce among them any other form of worship than that which they had chosen ; on the other hand, they were to be made to understand that exception was justly taken to their own intolerant temper and that they could not be permitted to deny to others, and especially to members of the Church of England, the liberty they claimed for themselves ; that in order to avoid giving them offence, and to quiet their suspicions, the Commissioners should frequent their churches and be present at their devotions, while, at the same time they should carry with them a learned and discreet chaplain, who, in their own household, should perform divine service according to the order of the Book of Common Prayer and the forms of the established Church of England, excepting only in wearing the surplice,

" which haveing never bin seen in those countryes may conveniently be forborne att this tyme, when the principall busynesse is, by all good expedients, to unite and reconcile persons of very different judgments and practice in all things, at least which concerne the peace & prosperity of those people and their joint submission and obedience to us and our government." ²

The policy of the home government is made still clearer by the instructions to the Commissioners in the case of persons, who under a pretence of attachment to the

¹ *N. Y. Col. Hist. Documents*, vol. iii., 54.

² *Ibid.*, iii., 58.

Church of England, might endeavor to make trouble. They were directed to be wary of such persons; neither to repel nor to encourage them; but to test the truth of their religious character and the sincerity of their statements, and to promise them nothing more than security from persecution; all which is very characteristic, for the State does not like too great religious zeal in any of its subjects. All this was done in 1664, four years after the Restoration; and the design of the government seems to have been simply to secure to members of the Church of England that religious freedom which, under Puritan domination, it was impossible for them to enjoy, and at the same time to test and try the temper of those zealots whose peculiar institutions formed a barrier to the remoter projects of the Duke.

Within six months after the delivery of these instructions to the Duke's Commissioners, the fate of New Amsterdam was sealed. Colonel Richard Nicolls appeared on the coast, with a fleet of four ships of war and five hundred troops, and an appointment as Governor. The fleet touched first in New England, and the Commissioners, proceeding to Boston, proclaimed civil and religious liberty. On the 19th of August the squadron entered the bay of New York, and coming to an anchor at the Narrows, sent up a summons for the surrender of the town. Resistance was useless. Nicolls landed his troops on the opposite shore of Brooklyn, where they were joined by the English, who were impatient to throw off the yoke of the Dutch and enjoy a quiet and orderly rule. Domine Megapolensis appeared as a peace-maker, "protesting against any further opposition to the will of God," and on the 6th of September the terms of surrender were arranged. They were, perhaps, the most favorable ever granted by a conqueror. Nothing seems to have been

hurt, except the pride of the honest Hollanders. Their little garrison marched out with drums beating and colors flying, and embarked in their ships for Amsterdam, while an English guard took possession of the fort, and the Royal commissioners entered the town; the flag of England was hoisted on "Fort James," and the Burgomasters proclaimed Nicolls governor. The liberties of the Dutch were fully secured to them; even their old church of "St. Nicholas," inside the fort, was secured to their perpetual use.¹ Church discipline, laws of inheritance, rights and customs, all remained as of old; the domines, the schoolmasters, and the city officers came in and went out as usual; the prejudices of the people were tenderly regarded; in a word they remained substantially as free under the new régime as under the rule of the West India Company; and, as a conquered people, in addition to the enjoyment of all guaranteed rights, they were entitled to be governed by their ancient laws, which remained in force until changed by the actual authorities of the Province.²

Among the old Dutch laws and customs thus scrupu-

¹ It was a little stone edifice, 72 feet long by 52 wide and 16 high, built in 1642 by Governor Kieft to replace a wooden structure, which had fallen to pieces. A square stone set in the wall bore an inscription, translated as follows: "Anno Domini 1642, William Kieft, Director General, hath the Commonalty caused to build this Temple." Brodhead's *History*, vol. i., 336.

In it the service of the Church of England was performed for the first time by the chaplain of Governor Nicolls, October, 1664.

"The articles of capitulation expressly declared that all public buildings should continue in their previous uses, and that the Dutch should enjoy their accustomed divine worship and church discipline. Provision was accordingly made by the burgomasters and schepens for the due support of the Domines Megapolensis and Drisius until the Governor should make farther arrangements. The chaplain of the English forces had, however, no proper place in which to celebrate divine service except in the Dutch Church in the fort. It was very cordially arranged that after the Dutch had ended their own morning worship in their church, the British chaplain should read the Church of England service there to the governor and garrison." Brodhead's *History*, vol. ii., 44.

² For an entertaining and graphic account of those laws and their peculiar administration, see *The Old Stadt Huys of New Amsterdam* by James W. Gerard.

lously respected were those which related to the education of the young. No private school teachers were permitted to follow their vocation without a license from the civil and ecclesiastical authorities; public education was conducted by the permission and under the joint oversight of State and Church. There were schools in almost every town and village in New Netherland, and in New Amsterdam there was a high school, dispensing education gratuitously, the teachers being approved by the Consistory and receiving their compensation as well as their appointment from the constituted authorities. The laws of New Netherland enacted that all children should be instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic,

“but especially and chiefly in the principles and fundamentals of the Reformed religion,” and they “required and commanded the school masters to appear in the church with the children committed to their care and entrusted to them, on Wednesday before the commencement of the sermon, in order, after the conclusion of Divine service that each may, in the presence of the Reverend Ministers and the Elders who may be present, examine his scholars as to what they have committed to memory of the Christian Commandments and Catechism, and what progress they have made. After which performance the children shall be dismissed for that day, and allowed a decent recreation.”¹

So stringent were the regulations concerning the education of the young; and these ordinances, with others, continued in force.

With the English garrison came an English chaplain who ministered to soldier and civilian alike,² though his

¹ Laws of New Netherland, *Albany Records*, xxii., 100.

² Hunter's friends, in 1714, state that “When this Province was taken by the English in the year 1664, there was left in it a small garrison of English Soldiers who had a chaplain allow'd upon the establishment; in the fort at New York (the seat of our Governours) was a large church wherein the Dutch inhabitants in their own way and language performed their worship, that ended, the Chaplain read Divine service according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, and this is all the footing that the Church of England as by law established had in this Province

name does not appear to be known. The English shared with the Dutch the use of the chapel inside the fort. It is generally stated that these were the first services of the Church of England ever celebrated in the city or province, but of this there is no proof. During the Dutch period the English were on the ground in considerable strength, and, for aught we know, the Book of Common Prayer may have been used.

It is to be remembered that Long Island did not belong to the Dutch province; Connecticut claimed it as part of her domain; the inhabitants were English, and alien to the laws and customs of New Netherland. With respect to the laws of the Province, it is said that there was an understanding to the effect that the Dutch laws should continue in force for six months, and Nicolls was urged to take action, as the period was expiring, with reference to a change. He hesitated with respect to the City of New York, but proceeded with reference to the English on Long Island. At a convention held, by his order, February 28, 1664 (O. S.), at Hempstead, he presented a body of laws which, with the assistance of the Court of Assizes, he had compiled after consulting and comparing the laws of other colonies which were most accessible. With some amendments the code was agreed to, and an address to the Duke of York was adopted expressing the "cheerful submission" of the people, and declaring that they would forever maintain his rights under the King. The code, known as "the Duke's Laws," continued in force until the year 1683.¹

until 1693." This statement has generally been referred to as proving that no other services of the Church of England were known in the Province, whereas it seems to refer to official recognition as a part of the State establishment. It is found in a letter addressed to the Bishop of London, *N. Y. Doc. Hist.*, iii., 265.

¹ (See Bolton's *History of the Church in the County of Westchester*, Introduction, x.)

No attempt was made to give the Church of England the precedence, as the situation both in New York and New England was embarrassing. King Charles, who instructed the Commissioners, saw that the people were inclined to rebellion in the latter province, while the Church element was feeble among the Dutch. The Duke of York took the prudent view of the King; and being a Romanist in need of toleration himself, he counselled general toleration, and the division of the people into sects, hoping very likely that, by means of this division, he might eventually conquer. The only restriction on religious liberty is found in the provision requiring that all ministers "admitted to officiate" should receive ordination from some "Protestant Bishop or Minister" within the dominion of a Protestant king or prince.¹

¹ The Laws were "published" March 1, 1664-5. The following are the portions relating to ecclesiastical matters :

1. That in each Parish within this Government a church be built in the most Convenient part thereof, Capable to receive and accommodate two Hundred Persons.

2. That For the making and proportioning the Levies and Assessments for building and repairing the Churches, Provision for the poor, maintenance for the Minister ; as well as the more orderly managing of all Parochiall affairs in other Cases exprest, Eight of the most able Men of each Parish be by the Major part of Housholders of the said Parish Chosen to be Overseers out of which Number the Constable and the aforesaid Eight Overseers shall yearly make Choice of two of the said number, to be Church wardens and in case of the Death of any of the said Overseers and Church wardens ; or his or their departure out of the parish The said Constable and Overseers shall make Choice of another to Supply his Room.

3. Every Overseer is to take the Oath of Allegiance at the time of his Admittance into his Office in the Presence of the Minister Overseer and Constable of the parish, besides the Oath of his office.

4. To prevent Scandalous and Ignorant pretenders to the Ministry from intruding themselves as Teachers ; No Minister shall be admitted to Officiate, within the Government but such as shall produce Testimonials to the Governour that he hath Received Ordination either from some Protestant Bishop, or Minister within some part of his Majesties Dominions or the Dominions of any foreign Prince of the Reformed Religion, upon which Testimony the Governour shall induce the said Minister into the parish that shall make presentation of him, as duely elected by the Major part of the Inhabitants housholders.

5. That the Minister of every Parish shall Preach constantly every Sunday, and shall also pray for the Kinge, Queene, Duke of Yorke, and the Royall family. And

The Duke's Laws were not pressed upon the Province at large. At the end of ten months, however, Nicolls took action respecting the city, appointing Thomas Willett, of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Mayor, and by proclamation declaring that in the future the government should be known by the "name and style of Mayor, Alderman and Sheriff, according to the custom of England in other his Majesty's corporation." The new government comprised three Englishmen and four Hollanders.

At the meeting of the general Assize, October, 1665, the provisions of the Long Island Code not being recognized, it was decided that a town rate tax should be levied for the support of worship, and Nicolls declared for liberty of conscience, while the authorities assisted the

every person affronting or disturbing any Congregation on the Lords Day and on such publique days of fast and Thanksgiving as are Appointed to be observed. After the presentment thereof by the Churchwardens to the Sessions and due Conviction thereof he shall be punished by fine or Imprisonment according to the merritt and Nature of the offence, And Every Minister shall also Publicly Administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper once every Year at least in his Parish Church not denying the private benefit thereof to Persons that for want of health shall require the same in their houses, under the penalty of Loss of preferment unless the Minister be restrained in point of Conscience.

6. No Minister shall refuse the Sacrament of Baptism to the Children of Christian parents when they shall be tendered under penalty of loss of preferment.

* * * * *

10. That no Congregations shall be disturbed in their private meetings in the time of prayer preaching or other divine Service Nor shall any person be molested fined or Imprisoned for differing in Judgment in matters of Religion who profess Christianity.

11. No Person of Scandalous or Vicious Life shall be Admitted to the holy Sacrament who hath not given Satisfaction therein to the Minister.

CHURCH WARDENS.

That Church wardens shall twice every year (viz.) on the Second day of the Sessions, to be held in June; and on the Second day of the Sessions to be held in December, In open Sessions deliver a true presentment in writing of all such misdemeanours as by their knowledge have been Committed and not punished whilst they have been Churchwardens. Namely, "Swearing, prophaness, Sabbath breaking, Drunkenness, fornication, Adultery, and all such abominable Sinnes." Under "Charges Publicke," it was ordered that "Every Inhabitant shall Contribute to all Charges both in Church and State, whereof he doth, or may receive benefit according to the equal proportion of his Estate."—*Col. N. Y. Hist. Soc.*, 1809, vol. i., 332.

ministers in obtaining what was due them. The Governor,¹ acting impartially, did all in his power to carry out the spirit of the law.²

1 We must pass rapidly over the history of these early days of the English *régime*. Colonel Nicolls was relieved of the command of the Province in the month of August, 1668. On his departure for home, he received every demonstration of respect and regard. In a letter from Samuel Maverick written from New York to Lord Arlington, the Foreign Secretary, these expressions occur :

“ After his abode here foure yeares (where hee hath lived with great reputation and honour) hee is now returning home. I must needs accompany him with this character, that hee hath done his Ma^{tie} & his Royall Highnes very considerable service in these parts, haveing by his prudent management of affaires kept persons of different judgments and of diverse nations in peace and quietnes, dureing a time when a great part of the world was in warrs. And as to the severall nations of the Indiyans, they were never brought into such a peaceable posture & faire correspondence, as by his means they now are.” ³

Governor Nicolls was succeeded by Col. Francis Lovelace, who, by appointment from the Duke of York, entered upon his administration August 28, 1668. He is described as a man of a generous, upright, and noble mind. He brought with him the Duke's approval of the laws as amended ; his general instructions were similar to those of Nicolls, whose policy he followed. The Dutch Churches throughout the Province retained their freedom and the full enjoyment of their ancient rights and discipline, re-

¹ *Hist. Mag.*, 1867, 321.

² At this time there was a small number of Presbyterians in the Province ; seeing that the Dutch Church was recognized, they, in common with the Lutherans and French, applied for a charter. Their fifth application, in 1667, was denied by the Lords of Trade, who probably felt that they had no need of charters, though as a matter of justice they were entitled to them, and perhaps would have been granted, if the home authorities had not held insufficient views of the religious condition of the Province.

³ *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vol. iii., 174.

maining under the direction of the Classis of Amsterdam ; nay, if there was any change, it was to their advantage, for the Consistory were authorized by an order in Council to levy taxes on the congregation for the support of their ministers and the relief of their poor, and were even granted moneys out of the public revenues for the support of their worship. Mr. Brodhead claims, on the strength of these enactments, that "the Reformed Dutch Church was virtually established in New York by its English rulers."

Lovelace appears to have taken a general interest in whatever concerned the welfare of the people. He was anxious to have the printing press introduced, especially with reference to the printing of an Indian Catechism, and he issued a proclamation reproving swearing, intemperance, and impiety. Families from Boston were induced to buy houses, and other Englishmen came from Bermuda and Barbadoes. Denton gives a pleasing description of the place as it appeared at this period, being "compact and oval, with very fair streets and several good houses," the rest being built "much after the manner of Holland, to the number of about four hundred houses."

But, notwithstanding the tolerant and prudent character of Governor Lovelace's administration, it terminated in disaster to himself. In 1673 war broke out between England and France on the one hand and Holland on the other ; and the Dutch availed themselves of the opportunity to regain possession of their transatlantic settlement. On the 28th of July in that year a Dutch fleet of twenty-three ships, with 1600 troops on board, under command of Commodore Cornelis Evertsen, sailed into the bay, and took possession of New York on account of the States General. Lovelace was at New Haven and the English were helpless. The unlucky Governor, on returning to England, was found guilty of carelessness and

incapacity ; he was reprimanded and disgraced ; and his property was declared confiscated to the Crown.¹

Great were the rejoicings of the Dutch over the recovery of New Amsterdam ; great, though brief. The name of the place was changed from New York to New Orange ; Anthony Colve was appointed Governor, and the Reformed Dutch Church was formally established, an order being passed requiring the local magistrates to "take care that the Reformed Christian Religion be maintained in conformity to the Synod of Dordrecht, without permitting any other sects attempting anything contrary thereto." The magistrates were also to be of that religion, or at least well affected toward it. What more might have been done remains a subject of conjecture ; for the time was short. On the 16th of February, 1674, peace was concluded between England and the States General ; the town was given up to the English, and so the Dutch domination ended forever.

Among the possessions of Lovelace was a piece of ground which has become notable in the history of Trinity Parish, in connection with a remarkable popular delusion, influencing many minds even at this distant day. There was on the island of Manhattan a tract of some sixty-two acres of land, adjoining the old West India Company's farm. It was owned by the Dutch Domine Everardus Bogardus and his wife, Anneke Jans. When New Amsterdam was captured in 1664, the farm of the West India Company was confiscated and became the property of the Duke of York ; but the "Domine's Bouwery," as it was called, being private property, was left in the possession of its owners, to whom and to their heirs the title was confirmed by Governor Nicolls, A.D. 1667. Upon the death

¹ Brodhead's *Hist. of N. Y.*, vol. ii., 269 ; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vol. iii., 198-9 and 226.

of Mrs. Anneke Jans Bogardus, and in compliance with the directions of her will, this farm was sold in 1671, the purchaser being Governor Lovelace. But when he was disgraced, as aforesaid, and his property was confiscated, the title vested in the Duke of York, and thereafter in the Crown. For the further history of this piece of ground the reader is referred to a later chapter of this work. The farm became the property of the English Church, and has been held as church property to the present day.¹

Questions having now arisen respecting the validity of the Duke of York's title, a new patent was issued by the King granting absolute power of government over his former province, including New Jersey, lands on the Connecticut River, and Pemaquid in Maine. The Duke appointed Col. Edmund Andros Governor. Like Nicolls and Lovelace, he was a member of the Established Church, and personally a man of distinguished ability. His instructions were large and liberal; he was ordered to administer justice "with all possible equality without regard to Dutch or English," to the end that all might see "their just rights preserved to them inviolably." In particular, he was directed

"to permit all persons of what Religion soever, quietly to inhabit within the precincts of your jurisdiction, without giving them any disturbance or disquiet whatsoever for or by reason of their differing opinions in matter of Religion: Provided they give no disturbance to the public peace, nor do molest or disquiet others in the exercise of their religion." ²

It was furthermore agreed that the inhabitants of the Dutch nation should be allowed to retain their customary church privileges in divine service and church discipline,

¹ Brodhead's *Hist. New York*, ii., 183; Valentine's *Manual of the Common Council*, 1855, 531-2, 1860, 548; Perry's *Hist. American Church*, vol. i., 170.

² Brodhead's *Hist. New York*, ii., 264; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iii., 218.

besides their fathers' laws and customs in the division of their inheritance.

We are indebted to Andros for a description of the state of religion in the province ; it is found in his reply to certain inquiries addressed to him from Whitehall touching the condition of affairs in the Plantations of New York. Under date of April 16, 1678, he says :

" The Duke maintains a Chapline, w^{ch} is all the certaine allowance or Chirch of England but peoples free gifts to y^e ministry, And all places oblided to build churches & provide for a minister, in w^{ch} most very wanting, but presbiterians & Independents desierous to haue & maintaine them if to be had, There are ab^t 20 churches or Meeting places of w^{ch} above halfe vacant their allowance like to be from 40 li to 70 li a yeare and a house and garden. Noe beggars but all poore cared ffor, If good Ministers could be had to goe theither might doe well and gaine much upon those people." ¹

Governor Andros made a voyage to England, to give account of certain acts in connection with his administration. Upon returning to New York, he brought back with him the Reverend Charles Wolley, with the Duke's commission as Chaplain to the forces, the first Chaplain who is known by name. He was fresh from Cambridge, where he entered at Immanuel College, July 9, 1670, taking his Master's degree July, 1677. At London, in 1701, he published a volume of American experiences, describing New York as "a place of as sweet and agreeable air as I ever breathed in, and the inhabitants both English and Dutch very civil and courteous." Of the clergy, he says :

" In the same City of New York where I was Minister to the English, there were two other Ministers or Domines, as they were called there, the one a Lutheran a German or High Dutch, the other a Calvinist an Hollander or Low-Dutchman, who behav'd themselves one towards

¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iii., 262.

another so shily and uncharitably as if Luther and Calvin had bequeathed and entailed their virulent and bigotted Spirits upon them and their heirs forever."¹

Wolley's residence of two years may not have proved very fruitful, but Andros testified that he was unblamable in life and conversation, and of lively and entertaining manners.² The Labadists who visited New York in 1679 heard him preach, and wrote as follows, under date of Sunday, October 15 :

"We went at noon to-day to hear the English Minister, whose services took place after the Dutch Church was out. There were not above twenty-five or thirty people in the Church. The first thing that occurred was the reading of all their prayers and ceremonies out of the prayer book, as is done in all Episcopal churches. A young man then went into the pulpit and commenced preaching, who thought he was performing wonders ; but he had a little book in his hand, out of which he read his sermon, which was about a quarter of an hour or half an hour long. With this the services were concluded, at which we could not be sufficiently astonished." "

This amusing account is the earliest description of a church service now accessible, but Wolley does not appear to have been without missionary aspirations, and in his account of the Indians he says : "May the lover

¹ *Two Years' Journal in New York*. Edited by O'Callaghan and published by Gowan, New York, 1860, p. 55, where also an account is given of his humorous way of effecting a reconciliation between these two Domines.

² The following is the testimony of Andros referred to :

"A Certificate to Mr. Charles Wolley to goe for England in the Hopewell.

"Sr Edmund Andros, Knt., etc. Whereas, Mr. Charles Wolley (a Minister of the Church of England), came over into these parts in the month of August, 1678, and hath officiated accordingly as Chaplaine under his Royall Highnesse during the time of his abode here. Now, upon applicaçon for leave to returne for England in order to some promoçon in the Church to which hee is presented, hee having liberty to proceed on his voyage. These are to certify the above, and that the sd Mr. Wolley hath in this place comported himself unblameable in his Life and conversaçon. In testimony whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and seal of the province in New Yorke, this 15th day of July, in the 32nd yeare of his Maj^{ties} Raigne. Anno Domine, 1680. Examined by mee. M. N. Secr." Perry's *Am. Hist.*, vol. i., 152.

³ *Memoirs of Long Island Hist. Soc.*, vol. i., 148.

of Souls bring these scattered desert people home to his own flock." It is stated that he joined with Andros in helping the Dutch finish their new place of worship in the fort, while it is certain that he was indebted to them for his own accommodations, and lived with them on the best of terms.

Andros was recalled in 1680, leaving Anthony Brockholls in his place as Commander-in-Chief, and a vacancy appears in the Chaplaincy of about two years. The province now fell into a state of dire confusion, and it soon became evident that there was need of a clear head and a strong hand to set things to rights again. Accordingly, on the 25th of August, 1683, a new Governor arrived in the person of Thomas Dongan, one of the ablest executive officers that this city has ever had. His instructions bear date January 27, 1682. He brought with him, as the Government Chaplain, Dr. John Gordon.¹

A devout Roman Catholic by profession,² he nevertheless ruled his Protestant colony with absolute impartiality, and won universal respect and esteem. The

¹ His salary was paid from Nov. 26, 1682, to Oct. 6, 1683. See Brodhead, ii., 374, and *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iii, 415, n. Dongan also brought over an English Jesuit priest, Thomas Harvey of London. During the year 1682 lay reading appears to have obtained, for a time, in the Garrison Chapel, as Domine Selyns says, in October 28, that "We and the English inhabitants use the same church. They perform their services at the conclusion of ours, by reading the Common Prayer. They have a clerk, but no minister, except one who marries and baptizes in private houses, but does not preach." This minister may have been the Reverend Samuel Eburne, who came to the province out of health. This is the first indication that we have of lay services, though those instituted by Colonel Heathcote at Scarsdale in 1692, and those of Vesey at Sag and Hempstead 1695-6, were of that character. *Anthology of New Netherland*, 94.

² The Test Act, passed March 29, 1673, required all persons holding any civil or military office to receive the Lord's Supper according to the usages of the Church of England, and to subscribe a declaration against the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation. This act, however, did not apply to the colonies; so that the Duke of York, though compelled to resign his home appointments, still retained the jurisdiction over the colonies, and was free to appoint as governor a member of the Church of Rome.

policy of religious toleration was continued as before, and active measures were taken to protect the English dominions from the apprehended designs of the French.

The country lying between Canada and the settlements on and about the Hudson River was occupied by that remarkable Indian confederacy known as the Iroquois, or the Five Nations. Dutch and English alike regarded those powerful and warlike tribes as a kind of natural barrier or bulwark between them and the French; while the French were never weary of efforts to gain them over to their side. The Jesuit missionaries acted as agents in that design. Dongan sought to neutralize their work by means of counter-missions from the English side, conducted by priests of the same faith. The subject is one of the deepest interest, on which, were there time, it would be highly entertaining and instructive to dwell. Suffice it to say that Dongan, in his Indian policy, followed the line of his predecessor, Andros. He claimed the Iroquois, and all the Indians south and southwest of Canada, as English subjects, and their lands as under the British Crown, and strenuously resisted, by every means at his command, the attempts of the French to extend their power in his direction.

Dongan received no special instructions with regard to ecclesiastical affairs, those given to Andros being at that time deemed sufficient. Nevertheless, during his administration, and probably before his time, the use of Common Prayer obtained on some parts of Long Island.¹

¹ " Mr. Samuell Eburne the minister of this Towne, being at a Towne meeting held by Mr. Justice Woodhull, his Warrant Elected by a vote to be minister of this Towne and Parrish & it being proposed unto him by the Towne, in Regard of some tender consciences, that he would omitt the ceremonies in the booke of Common Prayer, in the publick worships, the sd mr. Samuell Eburne hath promised & by the presents covenant and promise to, and with the Inhabitants and Parrishoners of this Towne, that according to their desire with regard of their tender consciences to Omitt & not use the aforesd ceremonies neither in his Publick worship or administracon of the Sac-

In the meanwhile, Gordon was succeeded as Chaplain to the forces by the Rev. Josias Clarke.¹ The administration of Clarke left no very noticeable results, though the use of Common Prayer excited discussion, and the Rev. Mr. Eburne was obliged to appeal to the Governor in connection with the payment of his salary.²

Eburne resided on Long Island for nearly twenty years, though he probably did not remain in the capacity of minister of Brookhaven more than one year. We gain a glimpse of his personal history from an unpublished letter by Lord Cornbury, who wrote to the Venerable Society, November 21, 1705, saying that at the time the Dutch minister, Mr. Nucella, left Kingston, which was March 7, 1704, "there was on Long Island . . . Mr. Eburne, a minister of the Church of England, who had formerly served one of the churches in ye Island of Jamaica, but not enjoying his health there came to this province and settled on Long Island, where he had a daughter married." Mr. Eburne went to Kingston by order of Cornbury "to preach and read divine service, in good hopes of bringing the Dutch to a conformity."³ He

raments excepting to such persons as shall desire the same. In Witness whereof the
sd Samuell Eburne hath hereunto sett his hand. Witness my hand

"SAMUEL EBURNE, Minister."

Records of Town of Brookhaven of 1685, p. 63.

¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iii., 415, n., and Brodhead, ii., 407.

² The petition of "Samuel Eborne of Brookhaven Clerk" sets forth that on September 20, 1685, "yo^r petitioner Entertayned by the Inhabitants of Brookhaven afore-sayed to bee their minister, in consideration whereof they covenanted with him to pay & sattisfy him for the same the sume of sixty pounds p annum soe long as hee should continue to preach amongst them," but they had failed to keep their contract. This was clearly owing to their dissensions in connection with Common Prayer. The town was ordered to pay, or show cause for failure. *N. Y. Doc. Hist.*, iii., 218. As nothing more appears, it is to be presumed that the order was efficacious. Dongan appears to have had this case in mind when he spoke of the difficulty which he encountered in making the people of Long Island pay their ministers.

³ He was variously called "Hepburne" (see Perry's *Am. Hist.*, vol. i., 174), and "Heburn" or "Haburne" (see *N. Y. Doc. Hist.*, iii., 77 and 584).

did not succeed, however, though he appears to have been a positive Churchman. During his long residence on Long Island, being a zealous man, he must have done considerable to advance the Church, even though in poor health, and his case quite refutes the oft-quoted error that the service in the garrison at New York was all the footing that the Church of England, as by law established, had in this province until 1693.¹

It was under this administration that the inhabitants of the province were first permitted to meet by their representatives in an assembly; the privilege had previously been conceded in New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, and the people of New York had long sought the like favor of the home government. Under Dongan the Duke of York granted their request; and the "General Assembly" was duly convened. The subject has great interest for the student of statecraft. The representatives were to be elected—not by universal suffrage, for of that development of the democratic theory nothing was known as yet—but by the freeholders; and to those representatives, so chosen, was committed the right to levy taxes and to make laws. On the 17th of October, A.D. 1683, the General Assembly met for the first time. It began by adopting an instrument known as "the Charter of Liberties and Priviledges granted by His Royal Highness to the Inhabitants of New York, and its dependencies." The political frame of the government appears to have been thenceforth regarded as consisting of three branches: 1st, the Governor; 2d, a Council appointed, like the Governor, by the Crown; and 3d, a representative body elected by the people; and to these three was committed the legislative authority of the colony and particularly the power of taxing the inhabitants for the

¹ Brodhead, ii., 44; *N. Y. Doc. Hist.*, iii., 265.

support of the government ; while the people regarded themselves as being on a footing of perfect equality with their fellow-subjects in Great Britain, and especially as enjoying the exclusive right of taxing themselves. The Assembly, at its first session, guaranteed to all peaceable persons who professed faith in God by Jesus Christ entire freedom of conscience and religion ; the existing Christian churches in the province were forever to enjoy all their former freedom in divine worship and ecclesiastical discipline, and to be forever held and regarded as privileged churches ; and it was further ordered that no taxes should be levied without the consent of the People in General Assembly met and convened. It has been shrewdly remarked that in this remarkable instrument THE PEOPLE are for the first time mentioned ; they are not so named in any of the charters of the New England governments. It will also appear, hereafter, with what suspicion and alarm the inaugural acts of the General Assembly were regarded, when subjected to the scrutiny of the powers at home ; not without cause, indeed, for the germ of long contests and ultimate strife might be discerned but too plainly, even by an unpractised eye.

In studying the progress of events as they unfold themselves to the view during this period of the history of the province, it is necessary to bear in mind the design of the Duke of York, to which reference has already been made, of consolidating the English colonies, making of them one strong and compact body, and placing them under a single executive head. To this design the condition of affairs in New England opposed for the time an insuperable barrier. King Charles I. had granted to the settlers in that region charters after their own mind ; charters of individualism pure and simple, valued chiefly by the colonists because of the independence which they con-

ferred. The communities which existed and flourished by virtue of those instruments were, substantially, little religious oligarchies of the Puritan stamp ; none but members of the corporations could vote or hold office, and none but members of the Church could be members of the corporation ; while the corporators were in turn ruled by their ministers and with no feeble hand. As for dissenters from the Puritan church government, there was for them neither civil nor religious liberty, nor even peace or safety in limb or goods, except on condition of absolute submission to the powers that were. This was the state of things—pronounced “intolerable” by the victims of its oppression—which must be changed, before a more liberal system could be organized in its place ; and as a step toward that end there was given to all the freeholders, in other parts of the province, a share in their own government, without regard to the questions of religious belief ; while as a further step toward the same end, and with a view to break up the oligarchies of dissenters and *doctrinaires*, it was decided, when the time seemed ripe, to govern the colonies directly from the Crown. The theory that this was done for the mere love of arbitrary power is a one-sided view of the case. When in the year 1684 King Charles II. annulled the patent of the Corporation of Massachusetts Bay, he took out the keystone of an arch, on which had rested, since the days of his father, a hard, bitter, and intolerant system ; he released from the hand of persecution Churchmen, Jews, Quakers, Anabaptists, and the like, who, with witches, so called, and the vexed and afflicted folk, had been fain to fly for safety, some to Providence Plantations, others to the friendly shelter of the Dutch settlement at New Amsterdam, or whithersoever else they might go to find rest for body and soul. Out of the ruins of the shattered Puritan systems

was formed the province of New England, including Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, and New Plymouth; and over it was placed Kirke, as His Majesty's Lieutenant and Governor-General. Such was the last act of the King, so far as the development of the colonial policy was concerned. Another King, inexorable and greater than he, demanded him; to that dread power he made his own submission, on the 6th day of February, A.D. 1685.

CHAPTER IV.

NEW YORK UNDER JAMES II.

Accession of James II.—Governor Dongan—Episcopal Jurisdiction in America—Consolidation of Provinces—Abdication of James II. and Accession of William III.—Excitement in New York—The Leisler Rebellion—Governor Sloughter—Charter of Liberties—Rev. John Miller, and his Scheme for the Establishment of an Episcopate in the Province—Steps toward the Full Recognition of the Church of England—Attempt to Pass a Bill for Settling the Ministry in the Province—Arrival of Governor Fletcher.

UPON the death of Charles II., James, Duke of York, his brother, ascended the throne ; the Lord Proprietor now became monarch, and the colony of New York a royal province governed directly by the Crown. As might have been expected the colonial policy remained the same, and the scheme of consolidation was pushed with energy. Colonel Sir Edmund Andros, the former Governor of New York, was appointed Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief over the Territory and Dominion of New England in America ; he arrived in New England December 19, 1686, and at once took command. At the same time Dongan was appointed Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief over the province of New York, his new commission dating from the 14th of September of that year. Acting under instructions from the Crown, he proceeded to dissolve the General Assembly. The royal assent to the charter of liberties had been refused, and for a time the popular branch of the colonial government might have been regarded as extinct. Dongan

also received instructions on the subject of religion, from which it appears that the time was deemed ripe for giving to the Church of England in the province greater consideration and a firmer foothold than she had yet enjoyed. His orders were as follows :

“You shall take especial care that God Almighty bee devoutly and duely served throughout yor government : the Book of Common Prayer, as it is now establisht, read each Sunday and Holyday, and the Blessed Sacrament administered according to the Rites of the Church of England. You shall be careful that the Churches already built there shall bee well and orderly kept and more built as y^e Colony shall, by God’s blessing, bee improved. And that besides a competent maintenance to bee assigned to y^e Minister of each Church, a convenient House be built at the Comôn charge for each Minister, and a competent Proportion of Land assigned him for a Glebe and exercise of his Industry.

“And you are to take care that the Parishes bee so limited & settled as you shall find most convenient for y^e accomplishing this good work.

“Our will and pleasure is that noe minister bee preferred by you to any Ecclesiastical Benefice in that Our Province, without a Certificat from y^e most Reverend the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury of his being conformable to y^e Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England, and of a good life & conversation.

“And if any person preferred already to a Benefice shall appear to you to give scandal either by his Doctrine or Manners, you are to use the best means for y^e removal of him ; and to supply the vacancy in such manner as wee have directed. And alsoe our pleasure is that, in the direction of all Church Affairs the Minister bee admitted into the respective vestrys.

“And to th’ end the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the said Archbishop of Canterbury may take place in that Our Province as farr as conveniently may bee. Wee doe think fitt that you give all countenance and encouragement in y^e exercise of the same ; excepting only in Collating to Benefices, granting licenses for Marriage, and Probat of Wills, which wee have reserved to you our Govr. & to y^e Commander in chief for the time being.

“And you are to take especial care that a Table of marriages established by ye Canons of the Church of England bee hung up in all Orthodox Churches and duly observed.

"And you are to take care that Books of Homilys & Books of the 39 Articles of y^e Church of England bee disposed to every of y^e said Churches, & that they bee only kept and used therein.

"And we do further direct that noe School-master bee henceforth permitted to come from England & keep School within Our Province of New York without license of the said Archbishop of Canterbury ; and that noe other person now there or that shall come from other parts, bee admitted to keep school without your license first had. . . .

"You shall permit all persons of what Religion soever quietly to inhabit within yor Government without giving them any disturbance or disquiet whatsoever, by reason of their differing Opinions in matters of Religion, provided they give noe disturbance to ye publick peace, nor doe molest or disquiet others in y^e free exercise of their Religion." *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vol. iii., 372.

In these instructions Sancroft, the Archbishop of Canterbury, is recognized as having the ecclesiastical jurisdiction,¹ the King having had a misunderstanding with

¹ The question of Episcopal jurisdiction in America presents no small difficulties to the student. In 1606, King James I. granted land in Virginia, and directed that the word of God should be preached according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England. A council sat in London, known as the Virginia Council, of which the Bishop of London was a member. It was the duty of that Council to look after the interests of the new settlement, and see that the ranks of the clergy were kept filled. The Bishop of London had raised £1000 for a college in Virginia. Very naturally, therefore, the clergy and Council looked to him for aid in procuring ministers, and this seems to have been the origin of the connection of that prelate with the colonial churches. It continued until 1675, when "the Committee of Trade and Plantations" desired that "enquiry be made touching the jurisdiction which the Bishop of London hath over the foreign plantations." In 1679, by the instructions given to Lord Culpeper, it was evident that the Bishop was not supposed to have jurisdiction. The Governor of the province had the right to prefer to ecclesiastical benefices, but the person so preferred was required to produce a certificate from the Bishop of London setting forth his conformity to the doctrine of the Church of England. Doubts as to the extent of the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London continued to prevail, nor did that prelate consider America as a part of his diocese, nor exercise authority there, till, in the reign of James II., the Bishop (Dr. Compton) was formally empowered to exercise all ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the American plantations, including the licensing of schoolmasters going thither from England. But, having given grave offense to the King, by opposing the abrogation of the Test Act, he was removed from the Privy Council, and the King in his instructions to Dongan ordered that the jurisdiction formerly exercised by the Bishop of London in the American Plantation should be transferred to the Archbishop of Canterbury. At a later date, when King William came to the throne, the old order was restored, and the

the Bishop of London, whom the Church in the colonies regarded as the ordinary. The King, as the secular representative of the Church, performed what he considered his duty ; for the Church and State were one, and he felt that he should be amenable to the people and incur serious risk if he failed to act. The situation was embarrassing for a Roman Catholic, but there was no alternative ; and, therefore, distinguishing between James Duke of York and James King of England, he issued his orders. Dongan, his Governor, made the same distinction, and while keeping the Jesuit Harvey as his private Chaplain, he faithfully did his duty to the Church of England, never allowing his personal views to interfere with official duty, and using his influence at the same time to promote discipline among the various Protestant denominations. The task must have been both delicate and difficult to judge from Dongan's account of the state of religion in New York, which is as follows :

"New York has first a chaplain, belonging to the Fort of the Church of England ; secondly a Dutch Calvinist, thirdly a French Calvinist, fourthly a Dutch Lutheran. Here bee not many of the Church of England ; few Roman Catholicks ; abundance of Quakers¹ ; Sabbatarians ; Antisabbatarians ; Some Anabaptists, Some Independents ; some Jews ; in short of all sorts of opinions there are some, and the most part of none at all. The Great Church which serves both the English and the Dutch is within the Fort which is found to bee very inconvenient ; therefore I desire that there may bee an order for their building another, ground already being layd out for that purpose and they wanting not money in Store where with all to

Bishop of London was once more intrusted with the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in America. See *Historical Collections of P. E. Hist. Socy.*, 1851, p. 137 ; Brodhead's *New York*, vol. ii., 456, 628.

¹ There is abundant evidence to show that in New York and in the Jerseys the Quakers caused a great deal of trouble by their unruliness. See the letters of the Rev. George Keith and the Rev. John Talbot, and especially Keith's Report on the State of Quakerism in America, addressed to the Secretary of the S. P. G.

build it. The most prevailing opinion is that of the Dutch Calvinists."¹

The correctness of this sketch of the deplorable condition of religion in America is confirmed by other authorities. In the year 1701, at a meeting of the Venerable Society held on the 19th September, a memorial was read from Colonel Morris, in which he speaks of the several townships of East Jersey as distracted by almost every variety of dissent, but with little appearance of real religion among them. Piscataway he calls "the anabaptist town," so named because of some twenty persons of that sect, while the rest of the people were of all religions or none; Freehold was inhabited in part by Scotch Presbyterians, "a sober people," and partly by settlers from New England and New York who were "generally speaking of no religion." Of Middletown he says that "it is a large township; there is no such thing as church or religion amongst them; they are perhaps the most ignorant and wicked people in the world; their meeting on Sundays is at the public-house, where they get their fill of rum, and go to fighting and running of races, which are practices much in use on that day all the province over." The youth of the whole province he describes as debauched and ignorant, and the Sabbath-day seemed to be set apart for rioting and drunkenness. Of West Jersey he speaks as "a hotch potch of all religions," and of Pennsylvania he gives a similar account. Another document was read at the same meeting from Colonel Dudley, Governor of New England, on the State of Religion in the English Planta-

¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iii., 415.

The Chaplains during Dongan's administration were :

The Rev. Dr. Gordon, 1683 ;

The Rev. Josias Clarke, commissioned June 16, 1684, and served two years ;

The Rev. Alexander Innes, commissioned April 20, 1686.

tion in North America, which shows how vast a field was presented for the ministrations of the Church.

There was now a population estimated as high as fifteen thousand, though the number must have been greatly exaggerated, while the strength of the English was usually underrated. Dongan says: "I believe for these seven years last past, there has not come over into this province twenty English, Scotch, or Irish Familys, . . . but of French there have since my coming here several familys come both from St. Christophers and England, and a great many more are expected."¹ The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, October 22, 1585, it must be remembered, sent thousands of Protestants out of France.²

Dongan's administration ended in April, 1688; his rule may be regarded as memorable. Smith says that he was characterized by "integrity, moderation, and genteel manners; and, though a professed Papist, may be classed amongst the best of our governors," while Colden styles him an "honest gentleman" and an "active and prudent governor."³

He labored under a disadvantage, being, like his Royal master, a decided Roman Catholic; Protestants of the extreme type were intensely aggravated at seeing persons of that faith received in the city and allowed to become residents, while the Governor treated them with kindness and consideration, and worshipped with his adherents in one of the rooms of Fort James.⁴ Notwithstanding this,

¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iii., 399.

² See, on the French immigration, vol. i. of the *Collections of the Huguenot Society of America*, containing "Registers of the Births, Marriages, and Deaths, of the Église Française à la Nouvelle York," from 1688 to 1804, edited by the Rev. Alfred V. Wittmeyer, Rector of the French Church du Saint-Esprit; and Historical Documents relating to the French Protestants in New York during the same period. New York, 1886.

³ *Mag. of Am. Hist.*, 1882, p. 106.

⁴ Dr. Shea states that during its existence as a colony, New York was closed to the

Hinckley, of Plymouth, testified that the Governor "showed himself of a noble praiseworthy mind of spirit ; taking care that all the people in each town do their duty in maintaining the minister of the place, though himself of a differing opinion from their way."

The year of grace 1688, memorable in English annals, beheld the completion of the long-cherished plans of James II. for the consolidation of his North American possessions ; it also witnessed his sudden and final disappearance from the stage of events. In the spring of that year, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and the Jerseys were annexed to New England, and the whole territory was made one Royal province. It lay between the two Governors Andros and Dongan which should be head over all under the King ; for reasons about which historians have disputed, and will continue to dispute, the choice fell on Andros. His commission as Governor of the entire province bears date March 23, 1688. Dongan, meanwhile, relieved of official duty, went into honorable retirement, with the commission of major-general of artillery. But ere the year was out, the man who had planned and carried on these comprehensive designs had ceased to reign ; a sudden change swept over the realm, and he was left without crown, kingdom, or home.

What madness possessed James II. it is, perhaps, for the psychologist to determine. England has never been patient of the rule of the Vatican¹; she was Catholic

Roman clergy, "except during the period of the proprietorship of James as Duke of York and King of England. At that time a few Jesuit Fathers had a chapel in the Fort, facing the Bowling Green, and opened a Latin school." *Proc. of the United States Catholic Historical Society*, October 29, 1885, p. 10.

¹ See the history of S. Augustine of Canterbury and his contests with the early British Churches ; Council of Cloveshoo, A.D. 747 ; William the Conqueror's relations to the Papal See ; Henry I. and his fight with Urban II. ; Bernard, Bishop of St. David's, A.D. 1115 ; the Constitution of Clarendon, A.D. 1164 ; Robert Grossete, Bishop of Lincoln, A.D. 1235 ; Statutes of Mortmain, A.D. 1279, and Provisors,

once, but never legally papal ; she may be Catholic again, but papal she never can be. That the power of the Roman Pontiff could be set up again in England by the aid of the British government, was the dream of a madman. Any form of Protestantism is, in the average English mind, preferable to what they speak of bitterly as "Popery" ; and as soon as it became quite clear that the King aimed at restoring the old relations between the Vatican and the realm, and bringing back "the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities,"¹ his doom was sealed. The Church led the way in the revolt ; her doctors and priests resisted the sovereign ; her bishops went to the Tower rather than comply with the Royal will ; it was not the Puritan and Dissenting elements, but the stanch Church heart that bade defiance to the deluded monarch² ; and

A.D. 1350 ; the History of Wickliffe, A.D. 1324-1384 ; Statutes of Richard II. and Henry IV., A.D. 1377-1399-1413 ; Pope Martin V.'s complaints against the English government, A.D. 1417-1431. It was one long fight, from the Mission of Augustine down to the reign of Henry VIII., with varying successes and defeats.

¹ So ran the old suffrage in the English litany : " From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities, Good Lord deliver us." It was in both Prayer-Books of Edward VI., but has ever since been omitted. (See Wheatley, *Common Prayer*, p. 191 ; Blunt, *Annotated Common Prayer*, p. 51.)

² " How thoroughly at this juncture the Church had compelled the respect and gratitude, not only of the more thoughtful of her sons, but of the masses of the English people, by her determined stand against the wiles and threatenings of James, history records. But it is hardly as well known as it should be that in this crisis the Church stood alone. Whatever was done by the nonconforming party was all in favour of James and his romanizing measures. James spoke truth when, alluding to the conduct of the Dissenters, he declared that he had been encouraged by multitudes of addresses. Dr. Z. Grey gives eight addresses, and refers to eighty more couched in the same fulsome strain. The most active supporters of James were William Penn, the Quaker ; Stephen Lobb and Henry Carr, Dissenters. Calamy admits that James twice offered to make a sacrifice of all the Dissenters to the Church, if the Church would have complied with him. Finding Churchmen steady to the Constitution, he next faced about to the Dissenters and offered the like sacrifice of the Church. And the Dissenters yielded. The very excuses made by Calamy convict them. Neal confesses that the Dissenters have been a little ashamed of their compliance and silence in the Popish controversy in this reign. Hallam allows ' We have cause to blush for the servile hypocrisy of our ancestors ' (p. 658). The declaration for liberty is said to have been ' a contrivance of the English Presbyterians, or rather of their parsons.' Certain it

fired at the sight of the courageous attitude of these spiritual heads, the nation rose and drove the monarch not only from the throne but from the very soil itself. On the 11th of December, 1688, James II. abdicated, and the world looked on in amazement as it beheld a Dutch Calvinist coming across the channel from Holland to be the English King.

Tidings of these events reached America in advance of orders from the new sovereign. It was the signal for general confusion ; an outburst of Protestant excitement, a tormenting conflict between duty to conscience and allegiance to the new *régime*, suspicion, doubt, uncertainty were the immediate results. The Puritans of New England thought the occasion favorable to the recovery of their old position ; their ministers and congregations desired to regain their prestige and power ; and the way seemed open to their designs. There is little doubt, as became apparent afterward, that King William III. intended to carry out the wise policy of his predecessor, to maintain the consolidation of his American possessions, to allow the people a larger freedom and the choice of their own representatives in a popular assembly, and to secure to every one the enjoyment of his religious convictions, while maintaining the rights of the Church of England, under the provisions of Magna Charta, as an essential part of the English State and Constitution. But this

is, that while Churchmen boldly attacked Rome, and defended the Anglican Church with much skill and learning, in a multitude of pamphlets, no similar efforts were made by the Nonconformists. Swift says, speaking of the bishops, ' If the Presbyterians expressed the same zeal upon any occasion, the instances are not, as I can find, left upon record or transmitted by tradition ' (Works, vol. viii., p. 401). In the University pulpit at Oxford a preacher boldly declared : ' I shall not bring in here that all those noble defenses that were written against Popery in these times were done by the hands of Churchmen : all besides three cold pamphlets that stole out as it were in *moonlight*, as if the authors had been ashamed of them, and perhaps they had some reason ' (Tilley's Sermons, quoted by Lathbury, *Non Furors*, p. 14). Gibson gives the number of distinct treatises as 230."—*Church Quarterly Review* for July, 1877, p. 323.

was not what the Puritans wanted; their ministers, regretting the loss of their oligarchical rule and disjointed confederacy system, were always ready to secede and revolt. The leaders of what may be called the party of secession accordingly laid hold on the Royal Governor and having shut him up in prison, proceeded to patch up affairs on plans of their own. The effect of this course was felt nowhere more disastrously than in New York. Sir Edmund Andros, after having been received there with military honors, on the turning over of the command by Dongan, had been called away to New England by the prospect of an Indian war; and Francis Nicholson was left in charge of the town as Lieutenant-Governor. It was expected that he would take active steps against persons of the Roman Catholic religion, and particularly that he would see that "all images erected by Dongan in Fort James should be taken away"¹; but in this particular the zealots of the day were grievously disappointed, for Nicholson ordered the workmen to assist John Smith, the Roman priest, in removing his altar to a "still better room" of the fort, and to arrange everything to his wishes. This was in simple accordance with the Royal instructions, which, while not repeating those of Dongan, enjoined that liberty of conscience should be permitted to all persons, so they be contented with a quiet and peaceable enjoyment of it.²

On the arrival of the news of the abdication of James II. and the accession of the Prince of Orange a violent outburst, religious and political, took place in New York. The representative of the Governor was unequal to the crisis. There lived in the town at that time one Jacob Leisler, a German (not a Hollander), a person of quarrel-

¹ Brodhead, ii., 521.

² His instructions as Governor of Massachusetts have not been published, but a synopsis is found in Chalmers's *Annals*, i., 420, 421; see Brodhead, ii., 450.

some disposition, with the elements of character which make up the demagogue, and with the pluck and shrewdness to take advantage of a crisis. This individual now came to the front; posing as champion of liberty, he soon attained the place of a successful usurper, seized the fort, took possession of the city government, organized a military rule, and for some years maintained himself in power. By a certain class of writers Leisler has been extolled as champion of Protestantism, representative of popular freedom, enemy of tyrants, etc., etc. These delusions are dispelled, if one has patience to wait. Jacob Leisler was great in nothing but boldness, impudence, and a shrewd wit and cleverness. He persecuted Protestants and Catholics alike; ruled with a high hand, by no authority save his own; and suffered, at last, the punishment due to his actions. He represented nothing save those elements of disorder and danger which exist in every civil organization, and have so often, in our own day, needed and received stern repression. In New York, in 1688, no one knew exactly who was king or what was coming next; and those were the circumstances under which Leisler became a possibility.

The Leisler rebellion is full of grotesque and surprising episodes; as an illustration of the ease with which an excited community can be led to make themselves ridiculous, it is complete. Europe was agitated by political and religious questions of the gravest importance; their anxieties were reflected here, where no real danger existed. Here were to be seen men shouting themselves hoarse for civil and religious freedom, though neither the ecclesiastical nor the civil rights of anybody were threatened; dashing about with fanatical cries against "Popery," when the Roman Church had no foothold in the place; screaming for liberty, when no one was invading them or

threatening to do so. The state was simply one of anarchy, and in due time order was restored. Colonel Henry Sloughter was commissioned Governor of New York at the beginning of the year 1689; he did not arrive, however, till March 19, 1691. The Leisler bubble at once collapsed; the unfortunate man was seized, his forces scattered to the winds, and he was executed May 16, 1691. His terrible fate has given a factitious dignity to his name. He could no longer have been dangerous, and the result of his execution was merely to make him a martyr in the eyes of the partisan and the fanatic. It would have been better to let him go. A Leislerian faction survived him and gave trouble for many years afterward.

The instructions given to the new Governor by King William III. were, in the main, a repetition of those to Dongan; in some important particulars, however, they varied. They contained a provision aimed at the religious liberty of members of the Roman communion, who were not only debarred from the right to worship in public, but were denied liberty of "conscience," whatever that meant. The clause runs as follows: "You are to permit liberty of Conscience to all Persons (except Papists) so that they be contented with a quiet and peaceable enjoyment of it, not giving offense or scandall to the Government."¹ The appearance of this clause in the instructions is readily accounted for, as the result of the recent political excitement at home.

The Charter of Liberties received from the Duke of York Oct. 30, 1683, granted religious freedom to all; but on May 13, 1691, the Council passed a bill, similar in its general features, but omitting the parts giving freedom of worship, and expressly declaring that it was not

¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iii., 689.

the design "to give liberty for any persons of the Romish religion to exercise their manner of worship contrary to the laws and statutes of their Majesty's Kingdom of England."¹

In the summer of 1692 the Rev. John Miller arrived in New York, with a commission of chaplain to two companies of grenadiers. He remained in the province till 1695, when he sailed for home; but the vessel was captured by a French privateer, and all his papers were destroyed. On reaching London he wrote a book dedicated to the Bishop of London in which he reviewed the state and history of New York, and gave plans and ideas of his own, including a scheme for the establishment of an Episcopate in the province. His plan was to unite the governments of New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, station a bishop at New York as suffragan to the Bishop of London, and allow him "as Governor" £1500 per annum, together with all licenses of marriage and probates of wills, and the things usually belonging to bishops in England, adding the King's Farm as a seat for himself and his successors.²

¹ "No Persons or Person which profess Faith in God by Jesus Christ, his only Son, shall at any time be any way molested, punished, disturbed, disquieted, or called questions for any Difference of Opinion, or matter of Religious Concernment, who do not under that pretence disturb the Civil Peace of the Province, etc. And that all and every such Person and Persons may from time to time, and at all times hereafter, freely have and fully enjoy his or their Opinion, Perswasions and Judgments in matters of Conscience and Religion thro'out all this Province; and freely meet at convenient places within this province, and there Worship according to their respective Perswasions, without being hindered or molested, they behaving themselves peaceably, quietly, modestly, and Religiously, and not using this liberty to Licentiousness, nor to the civil Injury or outward Disturbance of others. *Always Provided*, That nothing herein mentioned or contained shall extend to give liberty to any persons of the *Romish Religion* to exercise their manner of worship, contrary to the Laws and Statutes of their Majesty's Kingdom of England." (*Bradford's Laws*, p. 4, Ed. 1710.)

² *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iv., 182. A full account of the Miller episode may be found in Bishop Perry's *Hist. Am. Church*, vol. i., 160, 161. His book, left in MS., was published in 1843, the title reading thus: *A Description of the Province and*

Steps were now taken toward the full recognition of the Church of England in the province as an integral part of the English State and Constitution, which undoubtedly it was. Under the old and loose administration of ecclesiastical affairs guided by a temporizing policy, all Protestant denominations had been kept on an equality and protected by the laws, the claims of their respective clergy being enforced by the governors to a certain extent.¹ But the time had now arrived when the position of the Church of England was to receive due recognition. Governor Sloughter was empowered by his commission "to colate any Person or Persons in any Churches, Chappels, or other Ecclesiastical benefices within our said Province and Territories aforesaid as often as any of them shall happen to be void."² Not, perhaps, without a suggestion from London, the Governor, with the approval of his Council, called the attention of the Assembly to the importance of providing for the settlement of a ministry in every town. The Assembly no doubt saw the design from the beginning, and were resolved, if possible, to defeat it, but, pursuing a temporizing policy, they reported, April 18, 1691, "A Bill for

City of New York, with plans of the City and several Forts as they existed in the year 1695. 8°. London. Thomas Rodd, 1843. See Gowan's *Bibliotheca Americana*; also a new edition with an introduction and copious historical notes, by John Gilmary Shea, LL.D., published by Gowan in New York in 1862.

"That his Majesty will please to give him the farm in New York commonly called the King's Farm, for a seat for himself and successors, which, though at present a very ordinary thing, yet will it admit of considerable improvement; and since this farm, renting at present for sixty bushels of wheat per annum, in the whole at four shillings per bushel, amounting to £12 New York money, is at present an advantage to the governor, that I may not seem to care how much I impoverish the governor, so I enrich the bishop, I further propose that the bishop be obliged when himself is not governor to render an equivalent to the present rent, either by giving yearly so many loads of hay, or by settling so much land where he please, within two miles of New York, as shall be sufficient for that purpose, or to pay the sum of money itself, which shall be best approved of" (p. 62).

¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iii., 415.

² *Ibid.*, 625.

Settling the Ministry, and allotting a maintenance for them in every respective city and town that consists of forty families and upwards." The introduction of this bill was a part of a general plan of obstruction ; its propositions were unpractical, and on May 1 following it was rejected.

Governor Sloughter died, July 23, 1691, two months after the execution of the unfortunate Leisler. He was succeeded by Benjamin Fletcher, who arrived in New York, August 29, 1692. Under this Governor, Trinity Church came into existence, and here the record of the annals of the venerable parish begins.

CHAPTER V.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR FLETCHER.

Current Misrepresentations of Fletcher—The Bill for Settling a Ministry—Struggle between the Governor and the Assembly—Final Passage of the Act—Its Provisions—Election of the City Vestry—Their Attempt to Call a Dissenting Minister Defeated—First Mention of Mr. Vesey—The Managers of the Affairs of the Church of England—Their Petition to Fletcher and its Result—The Call of Mr. Vesey—Grant of a Charter, and Establishment of the Parish of Trinity Church—Provisions of the Charter—Ordination of Vesey in England—His Induction, Christmas Day, 1697.

IT is to be regretted that they who first took in hand to write the history of the city of New York should have been under the influence of strong prejudices against the Church; and still more to be deplored, that false reports and gossip stories set afloat long ago should have been accepted, even down to our own day, as historic fact. Take, for example, the current account of Benjamin Fletcher. Whatever his faults—and certainly he had them—his zeal for the Church and his efforts to promote her interests should not have made him a mark for censure; he was sent here with instructions, which it was his duty to obey. The early annalists, however, interpreted his conduct from a sectarian point of view. William Smith leads off, describing the Governor as “a man of strong passions and inconsiderable talents, very active and equally avaricious,” and “a bigot to the episcopal form of church government”¹; and Smith is followed by a line of historiographers all singing in the same key.²

¹ Smith's *Hist. of the Late Province of New York*, vol. i., 124, 128.

² See Dunlap, *Hist. of New York*, vol. i., 216; Stone, *Hist. of New York*, p. 120; Mary L. Booth, *Hist. of the City of New York*, vol. i., 247. All repeat the slurs of Smith, word for word.

Bigot, indeed ! Why bigot, when the Church of England was, and had been for centuries, an integral part of the State and Realm ? The author who opened the attack on this line was not a competent witness. Brodhead's notes are filled with corrections of his errors in matters of fact ; while as regards the *animus* of the person referred to, Dr. Samuel Johnson, in a letter to Archbishop Secker under date of March 20, 1759, declares him to be utterly untrustworthy in matters pertaining to the affairs of the Church of England in the American colonies. And yet, of such material as this the popular history of the times is made up.

It is the habit of a certain class of writers, on reaching the present point of this history, to break forth into denunciation of ecclesiastical establishments, and declaim against those who gave the Church of England a legal settlement in the province of New York. However animated these expressions, they are out of place in a serious history of the day. It is true, that, on the permanent establishment of the English authority in Manhattan Island, measures were taken to put the Church on a proper footing. It is equally true that it was the duty of the sovereign and his representatives, the Governors, to do whatever was necessary to that end. Wherever the State went, the Church went with it. James II., though a Romanist, understood this : so did Governor Dongan, though, like the King, a Roman Catholic. William III., a Dutch Calvinist, in accepting the English Crown, became defender of the Church of England ; and Andros, Fletcher, and others did no more than their duty in seeing that the Church took her rightful position in the province. There is no just cause of censure in these cases, and least of all should Protestants find fault, as against the English Church, considering that, as Mr. Brodhead has shown

conclusively, the Dutch Church had previously been established here, without reproach or opposition.

In pursuance of his instructions, Governor Fletcher gave early and earnest attention to the state of morals and religion in his province.¹ His first act, on his arrival in 1692, was to issue a proclamation for the suppression of vice and the observance of the Lord's Day.² He also undertook the repair of the old chapel in the Fort, which the Dutch had left in a ruinous condition, on their removal to a new and much larger church, built of stone, and more to their mind. In October, 1692, the Governor initiated proceedings looking to the establishment of the Church of England. Nothing could be done without the concurrence of the General Assembly, and on this point a long fight between him and that body ensued ; and no wonder, for they were nearly all Dissenters, and regarded the Church of England with suspicion and dislike.

In accordance with the duty now devolving upon him to procure from the General Assembly such legislation as was needed, Governor Fletcher addressed that body, October 26, 1692, recommending the passage of a bill to

¹ Fletcher was commissioned March 18, 1692. His instructions were dated eleven days earlier, and repeated clauses found in the instructions of several of his predecessors directing him to put the Church on the footing of an establishment.

It is worth while to give them here once more, as we are now approaching a question concerning which there has been much debate :

" You shall take care that God Almighty be devoutly and duly served throughout yr Government, the Book of Common Prayer, as it is now established, read each Sunday & Holy-Day and the blessed Sacrament administered according to the Rites of the Church of England. You shall be carefull that the churches already built there be well and orderly kept and more built as the Colony shall by God's blessing be improved and that besides a competent Maintenance to be assigned to the Minister of each Orthodox Church, a convenient house be built at the Common Charge for each Minister and a competent proporcion of land assigned to him for a Glebe and exercise of his industry. * * * Our Will & Pleasure is that noe Minister be Preferred by you to any ecclesiasticall Benefice in that our Province, without a Certificate from the Right Reverend and the Bishop of London of his being conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England and of good conversation."—*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iii., 821.

² Bolton's *Hist. of the Church in West Chester Co.*, Introduction, pp. xi., xii.

provide for a ministry in the province. The Assembly made fair promises, but delayed, and remained passive¹ till September 12, 1693, when a new Assembly convened. Being urged by the Governor to act, they complied so far as to appoint a committee to agree upon the best method of calling and settling such ministry. In his address on the opening of the new Assembly, the Governor says :

"I recommended to the former Assembly the settling of an able Ministry, that the worship of God may be observed among us for I finde that great & first duty very much neglected ; lett us not forgett that there is a God that made us who will protect us if we serve him. This has been alwayes the first thing I have recommended, yet the last in your consideration."—*Journal of the Legislative Council of the Colony of New York*, p. 42.

Thus urged, the Assembly appointed a committee "to agree upon the easiest and best Methods for the calling and settling a Ministry in each respective Precinct throughout the Province,"² the committee being composed of one from each county.

The committee reported on the following day ; their report was recommitted ; on the 14th it was debated and again recommitted ; it was approved September 15 ; September 19 it was brought in by the Speaker, and passed on its third reading September 21.³ On the same day it had a second reading in the Council.

The act thus sent to the Governor was not satisfactory to him ; it was loose in terms, and obscurely worded. Accordingly, the Governor returned it to the Assembly with a request that it should be so amended as to recognize his power of presentation to ecclesiastical benefices.

¹ See *Journal of the Legislative Council of the Colony of New York*, p. 39. Also *Journal of the Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly*, New York, 1764, vol. i., 30-33. Portions of the proceedings are missing.

² *Journal of the Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly*, vol. i., 32,

³ *Ibid.*, 34.

With this request the Assembly flatly refused to comply, whereupon the Governor, justly indignant, prorogued them, not without a strong and plain talk delivered in good, honest Saxon. On this point he was clearly in the right; the power he claimed was already his¹ and had been exercised by his predecessors; but the hard-headed Dutchmen would not give in, nor their allies, the English dissenters; and so progress was for a time stopped.

The act, however, ultimately became a law; the Governor appears to have found a way to make it available in the form in which it was originally passed, and wrote to the Board of Trade to this effect:

"I have gott them to settle a fund for a Ministry in the City of New York and three more counties which could never be obtained before being a mixt People of different Persuasions in Religion."²

Still the passage of the bill led to a discussion with respect to its proper interpretation, which continued for a series of years. It is very curious that the Dissenting party affected to believe that this law was intended for their benefit, although unable to draw any benefit from it; and still more curious that any writer in our own day should claim that the act was for the benefit of the Presbyterians, who down to 1714, at least, had no place of worship in New York. Governor Fletcher was not untrue to his own principles and to the Church and State of England, and, therefore, while he desired a slight amendment, he accepted the act as recognizing the establishment of the Church of England, which legally came into the colony with the State. In declaring that

¹ "We do by these Presents authorize and empower you to Colate any Person or Persons in any Churches, Chapells, or other Ecclesiastical Benefices within our said Province and Territories aforesaid as often as any of them shall happen to be void."—*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iii., 830.

² *Ibid.*, iv., 57.

Magna Charta¹ provided for the Church of England, Fletcher took solid ground²; for the charter, confirmed again and again by Parliament, had for centuries recognized the establishment of the Church, and the power and duty of the sovereign in connection therewith.³

The following is a synopsis of the provisions of this Act, which had now become a law : It declared that there should be established "good and sufficient Protestant Ministers," one in New York City, one in Richmond County, two in the County of Westchester, and two in Queens County, to be paid by a tax on the inhabitants generally, to be levied by Vestrymen and Church Wardens, who were to be elected by those inhabitants. To the minister in the City of New York was to be paid annually

¹ "Quod Anglicana ecclesia libera sit et habeat jura sua integra et libertates suas illesas."—Blackstone's *Great Charter*, p. 28.

² Smith's *Hist. of the Late Province of New York*, vol. i., 129.

³ Mr. De Lancey, in *The History of Westchester County*, vol. i., 100, puts the matter as follows : "By the several 'Commissions' and 'Instructions' to the Governors under the signs-manual of their Sovereigns, and their several oaths of office, the different Governors were commanded and compelled to maintain and support the Church of England in the province of New York. This was the exercise in New York of a power which was legally vested in the Sovereign of England by the Law of England, and which by his Coronation oath he was bound to exercise." The law, however, sprung in the main from Magna Charta, which was confirmed by many Parliaments. Again it is said : "The Church of England in New York originated not in this 'Ministry Act,' as has been so generally believed and stated, but in the earlier action of the English Sovereigns in virtue of the law of England." That Act was merely the second step taken in obedience to the "Royal Instructions," p. 102. See the confirmation of this view in ex-Provost Stille's paper on "Religious Tests in Pennsylvania," in *The Penn. Magazine*, 1885, p. 372. See also Mr. De Lancey on p. 106, where he quotes Lord Mansfield on the prerogatives of the King, together with Fuller and Lord Selborne ; though in arguing the prerogative of the Crown as respects matters of religion, the words of Gladstone on the Royal supremacy should here be quoted : "I contend that the Crown did not claim by statute, either to be by right, or to become by convention the source of that kind of action which was committed by the Saviour to the Apostolic Church, whether for the enactment of laws or for the administration of its discipline ; but the claim was that all the canons of the Church, and all its judicial proceedings, inasmuch as they were to form parts respectively of the laws and the administration of justice in the Kingdom, should run only with the assent and Sanction of the Crown," p. 108.

the sum of £100 in cash, and to the county Ministers sums varying from £60 to £40, payable in produce. On the 2d Tuesday of January in each year, the freeholders of each city and town, summoned by a justice of the peace and a constable, were to meet and choose two Church Wardens and ten Vestrymen, who were empowered to levy the tax on the several precincts for the maintenance of the ministers. The tax-roll, so made out, was to be delivered to the constable to collect the amount. The Wardens were to keep correct accounts of all money received and to report the same to the justices and Vestrymen; they were also required to pay the clergy their salaries in quarterly instalments; and were liable to fine for non-fulfilment of any of the said duties. The Vestrymen and Wardens were also¹ to call the ministers who were to officiate in the respective cures.

In accordance with the provisions of this Act, an election for Wardens and Vestrymen was held by the freeholders of New York, January 9, 1694, at the City Hall, where the following persons were chosen, viz. :

Church Wardens :

Nicholas Bayard,
John Kerfbyl.

Vestrymen :

Robert Dakin,	John Spratt,
Robert Walters,	Isaac Van Flack,
William Jackson,	Matthew Clarkson,
Jeremiah Tothill,	Isaac De Riemer,
John Crooke,	Johannes de Peyster.

It must be constantly borne in mind that this was not the body known by the name of a vestry in the English, or our general, ecclesiastical law, but an anomalous body,

¹ *Laws of New York*, vol. i., 95.

chosen by the freeholders of the town without distinction of religion, and also that in their action they did not in any way represent the Church, as will presently appear.

The body thus elected, and known properly as the *Town Vestry*, gave no comfort to Governor Fletcher. Tothill, Crooke, and Clarkson were members of the Church of England, and subsequently became members of the Vestry of Trinity Church, whose records attest their zeal in her cause; but the rest appear to have been Dissenters, and determined obstructionists. This Town-Vestry met once or twice, but took no important action till February 5th, when they voted that a tax of one hundred pounds should be "assessed, levied, collected and paid by all and every one of the Inhabitants and Residenters within this City and County for ye Maintenance of a Good sufficient Protestant Minister according to the directions in the sd Act." On the 12th day of the same month they met again, and adopted a resolution, which clearly indicates their wishes; the record runs as follows:

"Upon reading an Act of Genl Assembly entitled an Act for Settling a Ministry and raising a Maintenance for them in the City of New York, &c., itt was proposed to this board what Perswasion the person should be of by them to be called to have the Care of Souls and Officiate in the Office of Minister of this Citty, by Majority of Votes itt is ye opinion of the board that a dissenting Minister be called to officiate and have the Care of Souls for this Citty as aforesaid."

By what vote this resolution was adopted we do not know; but the resolution was drawn with the distinct knowledge that a minority existed who were resolved to oppose the action of the majority. No doubt Tothill, Crooke, and Clarkson were members of the said minority and did their duty as members of the Church of England. Thus it appears that a division in the Town Vestry existed

¹ Murray Hoffman, *Ecclesiastical Law in the State of New York*, p. 18.

from the first ; a division so serious that the Dissenters could not carry out their design.

While matters were in this position the Governor brought forward the name of the Rev. John Miller, Chaplain to the Forces, as entitled, from his position, to the appointment of minister. The Governor's Council, however, appear to have opposed him on this point ; the matter was dropped ; and the Wardens and Vestry went out of office without making any appointment. At their last meeting they were asked by the Mayor whether, and, if so, when, they would proceed to levy the tax for the maintenance of the ministry, and they replied that they would not raise the money till a minister should be appointed.

Another Board was elected, January 8, 1695, consisting of the following persons :

Wardens :

Johannes Kip,
Jacobus Cortlandt.

Vestrymen :

Philip French,	Robert Darkins,
Teunis D. Key,	Johannes De Peyster,
Robert Sinclair,	Isaac De Riemer,
Jeremiah Tothill,	William Jackson,
Brandt Schuyler,	John Spratt.

The reader, perceiving that there is a racy Dutch flavor in this Board also, will not be surprised to hear that the majority still proved obstinate. Governor Fletcher, however, seems to have made up his mind that something must and should be done ; and, having called the attention of the Council to their conduct, threatened to prosecute them at the public expense if they declined to perform their duty. This prospect was sufficiently alarming to spur them on to action ; and accordingly, on Saturday,

January 26, 1695, at 8 A.M., our worthies met, and actually proceeded to call a minister, by proceedings which stand thus on record :

“ Pursuant to an Act of General Assembly, Entitled An Act for the settling of a ministry and raising a maintenance for them, *etc.*, the Church Wardens and Vestrymen above-named have this day mett and nemine Contra Dicente Called Mr. William Vesey to officiate in the same place according to the directions in the said Act contained.”

This seems to have been an attempt at compromise, but it did not serve the purpose. The vote was passed “Nemine Contra Dicente,” evidently only a portion voting, while there is nothing to show whether Vesey was elected by the Episcopal or non-Episcopal party. The fact that the Governor opposed this election does not prove that the candidate was a Dissenter, for he was not ; nor can it be shown that he was the nominee of the Dissenting party. But, taken in connection with the fact that Governor Fletcher desired the office for the Chaplain of the Forces, and that the Vestry acted under a threat of prosecution, it is fair to hold that the nomination of Mr. Vesey was the work of those favorable to the Establishment, the minority forcing the majority. There is nothing whatever to prove that the majority desired the election of Vesey, or that he was ever notified of his election. Neither the Governor nor the Dissenters were satisfied, and the matter fell dead. The action of the City Vestry was apparently the result of fear of prosecution for abuse of trust.

The compromise having failed, the Board resumed hostilities. On April 12th following, the City Vestry sought aid from the Assembly, and sent a petition to that body on the subject of their powers ; whereupon, the

Assembly, assuming judicial functions, proceeded to give an interpretation of the Act, and declared that "the Vestrymen and Church Wardens have power to call a dissenting Protestant Minister"¹ (*Journal of the Assembly*, p. 53). The next day the Governor prorogued that body. His address ran thus :

"Gentlemen—You have proceeded to give your opinion or interpretation of that Act of Assembly which provides for a Ministry in this City and two other Counties, upon a petition presented unto you and you say that the Church Wardens and Vestrymen may proceed by that Act to call a Protestant minister dissenting from the Church of England and raise the money for his maintenance. Not to tell you that there is no protestant Church admits of such officers as Church Wardens and Vestrymen but the Church of England, It is out of your province to take upon you to explain an Act you did not make : the Laws are to be interpreted by the Judges."—*Journal of Legislative Council*, p. 76.

This was the last of the opposition raised by the Dissenting party, and when the next Board was elected its members acted according to the law.²

¹ Note the language : "A *dissenting* Protestant Minister." The Act of 1693 declared "a Protestant Minister" should be appointed. The term may have been used to denote a minister of the Anglican Establishment. In contra-distinction from the Dutch and French Calvinists, the Lutherans and other religious bodies, the English Establishment was commonly styled "the Protestant Church"; the same use of the term, by way of distinction, continues among certain classes to this day. I have very often heard the phrase used by the common people from the old country under my charge in New York and elsewhere : "He is a Dissenter, but his people were all brought up in the Protestant Church," or, "So and so is not a Wesleyan; she belongs to the Protestant Church." In such cases the Church of England is meant; I have heard it so called scores of times. The words "dissenting Protestant Minister" were used advisedly with a view to contravene the provisions of the Act.

² "In 1695, Governor Fletcher told the New York Assembly, that the interpretation of the Ministry Act was a matter that belonged to the Courts, to which, however, the Presbyterians made no appeal. The Assembly was not an authority. It was a creature of the Crown, and not a true republican representative body. The part performed by New York in developing republican institutions was small. In 1621 Virginia had made an advance that New York did not reach a hundred years later; for at that time, while the Pilgrims were starving in their communal huts at Plymouth, free representative government, the first established in America, was firmly and intelligently

Upon a review of this fight between the Governor and the Assembly it appears that it was the design as well as duty of the Governor to introduce the Church of England as an establishment into the province ; that the Act of 1693, obtained from the Assembly for that purpose, was ambiguous in its terms, but, upon an interpretation in accordance with the usages of the day, would have met his wishes ; that the scheme was vigorously opposed by the Dissenters ; that the Assembly, departing from their line as law-makers, and assuming judicial functions, tried to help the Dissenting interest by interpreting the Act in a sense agreeable to them ; and that the victory rested with the Governor. It is also important to bear in mind, in connection with the election of Mr. Vesey, by the anomalous body known as the City Vestry, that there is no truth in the statement, often made in derision, that the first Vestry of Trinity Church called a Dissenting minister to be their rector. Three facts expose the fallacy of the assertion : 1st, Trinity Church was not then in existence ; 2d, the Board which elected "Mr. Veazie" was not a vestry as we now understand it ; 3d, Mr. Vesey was not a Dissenting minister, nor had he ever been a Dissenter ; all of which will hereafter appear.

A new Board was elected January 14, 1696, consisting of :

planted in Virginia. In fact, the position of New York with respect to the development of popular rights has been misunderstood. The ancient Presbyterian was deceived in fancying that the New York Assembly had the power to establish Presbyterianism. The modern Churchman is deceived if he supposes that it established the Church of England. It could not do anything except what the King, through his agent, the governor, allowed. So far as the Church of England was concerned, the business of the Assembly was simply to recognize the legal status of the Church. That was all that the Act accomplished in 1693. Until then it was inexpedient to act, but when the Duke of York reached the throne he felt the responsibility, and did what he conceived to be his duty to the Crown." (*Centennial History, Prot. Epis. Church*, p. 98.)

Wardens :

Capt. Stephen Van Cortlandt,
William Pinhorne.

Vestrymen :

Capt. Ebenezer Wilson,	Mr. John Crooke,
Capt. Lawrence Reade,	Mr. Giles Gaudineau,
Capt. William Morris,	Mr. John Van Cortlandt,
Mr. Samuel Burte,	Mr. Dirck Vanderburgh,
Mr. James Evetts,	Mr. Nathaniel Marston.

In concert with the justices, this Board unanimously agreed to levy and collect a tax for *a good and sufficient Protestant minister*, in accordance with the Act, and it was voted to raise one hundred pounds of New York money to maintain a minister for one year.

We come now to a turning-point in this somewhat tiresome story. Among the members of the Church of England in the colony were many stanch advocates of her cause; that they had followed with impatience the movement of events during the unseemly struggle against the law, is evident from the course they now pursued; the time had come to organize for the promotion of the interests of the Church, and in support of the authorities. Governor Fletcher, weary of the fight with the City Vestry, had taken a step of practical importance. Finding the old church in a dilapidated and ruinous condition, he caused it to be pulled down and applied to the Assembly for help to rebuild it elsewhere. A grant of four hundred and fifty pounds was made for that purpose, and the work was commenced. And now, delays occurring for want of funds and decided action of some kind being evidently in request, there appeared upon the scene a body of citizens, residents of the province, and freeholders, announcing themselves as devoted to her cause, and resolved to take matters into their hands, and see justice done in the premises. There was substantially an end to the dilly

dallying, prevarication, and resistance of the Assembly and the City Vestry, when the petition of these representative Churchmen came before the Governor, as follows :

"To his Excell. BENJAMIN FLETCHER, Capt. Generall and Govern^r in Cheife of the Province of New York Province of Pensilvania County of New Castle and all the Tracts of Land Depending thereon in America and Vice Admirall of the Same &c. :

The Petition of Sundry Inhabitants of the City of New York, Members of the Church of England—

HUMBLY SHEWETH

That Whereas yr Petitioners are Desirous to build a Church within this City for the use of the Protestants of the Church of England and haveing mett with great Encouragem^t from severall good Protestants in order to the Carrying on of the same,

Therefore yr Excell Petition^{rs} do humbly pray that yr Excell. would be pleased to grant a Lycence to yr Petition^{rs} to purchase a small piece of Land Lyeing without the North gate of the said City betwixt the King's Garden and the burying Place and to hold the same in mortmain and thereon to build the said Church as also to take and Receive all Voluntary Contributions and to do all other Lawfull acts and things for the Effecting the same and yr Excell. Petition^{rs} as in Duty bound shall ever pray.

Tho : Clarke	Will : Morris
Robt. Lurting	Ebenez ^r Willson
Jeremiah Tothill	Will Merret
Caleb Heathcote	Ja. Emott
James Evetts	R. Ashfield

[19 March 1698.]"

GRANTED.

—*Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, iii., 247.

This petition was granted, and on the 23d of July they were empowered to collect funds to carry on and finish the church which they had already begun to build.

The action thus taken appears to have acted as a tonic and stimulus to the City Vestry. On the 2d of November they met, and, all the members being present excepting Mr. Samuel Burte, they passed and recorded the following :

"Wee ye Church Wardens and Vestry men elected by virtue of ye said Act having read a Certificate under the hands of the Reverend Mr. Samuel Myles, Minister of ye Church of England in Boston in New England, and Mr. Gyles Dyer and Mr. Benjamin Mountfort, Church Wardens of ye said Church of ye Learning and Education, of the Pious, Sober and Religious behaviour and conversation of Mr. William Veazy and of his often being a Communicant in the Receiving ye most holy Sacrament in the said Church have called the said Mr. William Veazy to officiate and have ye care of Souls in this City of New York. And ye said Mr. William Veazy being sent for, and acquainted with the Proceedings of this board did return them his hearty thanks for their great favour and affection shewed unto him, and Assure him that he readily Accepted their Call and would with all Convenient Expedition Repair to England and Apply himself to the Lord Bishop of London in order to be ordained according to the Lityrgy of ye Church of England, and would return to his Church here by the first Convenient opportunity."

Several days after the election, it was voted to advance money to Mr. Vesey to defray the expenses of his voyage to England, whither he was now to proceed to obtain Holy Orders.¹ During his absence, the friends of the

¹ "Ordered that the Justices and Vestrymen doe direct a Warrant to the Church Wardens for to pay Mr. William Veazy (called to officiate as Minister of this City) the sum of Ninety-five pounds, Curr. Money of New Yorke, itt being Money now in their hands Raised by virtue of an Act of Genl Assembly for ye Maintenance of a Minister, and itt being to be lent to the said Mr. William Veazy towards the Defraying of his Expenses in his Voyage for England for ye procureing his Ordination according to ye Liturgy of ye Church of England and that he give bond for the same." A letter of Col. Heathcote forms a part of the history of the call of Mr. Vesey; he writes under date of June 13, 1714, as follows: "We had no sooner begun the Subscriptions of our Church, but our next care was to get us a minister while we had a Vestry in our favour, and being at that time no Gentlemen in Orders except one Mr. Smith, a Person but of an Indifferent Character our Vestry had nevertheless (I happening to be out of Town) Resolved to call him to the Living in which they were only opposed by one Gentleman, but he did it with so much Warmth that he prevayled with them to adjourn their meeting till my Return, ffor the dispute betwixt him, and the Rest of the Vestry was not whether Mr. Vesey or Mr. Smith was fittest for the Place, there being unanimous in their Opinion for the fformer, but Cold fletcher had so passionate a desire to have Mr. Vesey for his Chaplain that he had influenced the Vestry to make choice of Mr. Smith telling them that the other could not be called to the Living. after my Return to Town having a very good Interest with the Governr. I was not long in making him sensible of his mistake, and the inevitable Ruin that he

Church, who had now apparently completed their organization and described themselves as the "MANAGERS OF THE AFFAIRS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND," appeared again upon the scene, addressing the Governor and asking for an act of incorporation in conformity with the Ministry Act of 1693, the exclusive benefit of which they desired to have applied to the Church of England. This petition, dated May 6, 1697, was signed by Caleb Heathcott, William Merritt, John Tuder, James Emott (Henry Willson), Thomas Meahan, James Evetts, John Croke, Robert Lurten, Samuel Burt, William Morris, and Nathaniel Marston. This very interesting document is preserved at Albany, though badly damaged and in places almost illegible; it will be found in the *Doc. Hist.*, vol. iii., p. 248. They say:

"Whereas at the same time that the said Act was made there was noe Publick Church or building [for the] said Minister to officiate his said duty in the Publique Worship and Service of God According [to the practice of the] Church of England Established by Law whereby the Intent of the said Law was likely to be ffustrated [as well as the will] bounty and Encouragement of yr Excell:'cy who by yo' Excell:'cys

would bring upon the Church by it, whereupon he Yielded to my Proposals which was, That the Vestry might have leave to call Mr. Vesey, he solemnly promising and obliging himself to go for England and receive Orders without Loose of time, and that on his Return he should be Inducted. this piece of News was very welcome to the Vestry, who received it with an uncommon satisfaction and proceed immediately and unanimously in their Choice, by this means was the Church Established in this City and Mr. Vesey settled in it, who hath ever since continued with great faithfulness in the discharge of his Duty. His life and conversation has likewise been very Regular, and without the least stain or Blemish as to his Morals; He is not only a very excellent Preacher, but was always very carefull never to mix in his Sermons any thing Improper to be delivered out of the Pulpit. and the Good Providence of God having continued him so long amongst us for ■ Thorough settlemt of the Church in this Place, where, although the Presbiterians have made several attempts they have not been able to break in upon us a Happiness no City in North America can boast of besides ourselves. The Account I have herewith given you of Mr. Vesey is not grounded on Reports having said nothing but what I very well know and have observed from a 16 or 17 years Acquaintance with and knowledge of him."—*Archives of the S. P. G.*, vol. ix., No. 19. Also, *The Church Press*, March 27, 1886.

Pious Example has Influenced many to contribute severall sumes of money for the Erecting A Publique Structure and Church for the Publique worship [which have been em] ployed by yo^r Excellencys Petition^{rs} who have within this Citty built A Church and Covered the same but [still need yo^r Excel. countenance] and Pious fauour Continued to it.— Therefore yor Excell.^{cys} Petition.^{rs} most humbly pray that yor Excell.^{c^y} would be [pleased to grant the same] vnto yo^r Excell.^{cys} Petition.^{rs} in trust for all those that now are or hereafter may be in the [Communion of the Church of] England as now Established by Law. And that yo^r Excell.^{c^y} would be pleased to order the same [to be one Body] Politick in deed fact and Name, by Name of the Members in Communion of the Church of England Established by Law. And that such as they and their Successor:s may have hold use occupy [& possess all the] Advantages. Priviledges Immunityes Mortuaries and Appurtenances as are vsually held [used occupied & possessed by] Churches of the Church of England within his Majties Realme. And also that yor Excell.^{c^y} [will grant the Said] Church Aforesaid yearly Maintenance by the Aforesaid Law Eſtablished, [and ffor the benefit &] ffor the Charitable and Pious vse of the same what Quantity of Lands therevnto [neer or adjoining that to yor Excell &] the Council shall be thought fitt.”

From this document we see distinctly how the men of the Church of England regarded themselves, and what they wanted ; while the charter granted the same day shows that they received what they asked for, and had the full recognition of an Establishment.¹

By that charter, duly drawn and executed under the seal of the province, the parish of Trinity Church was constituted and established. A copy of the charter in full will be found in the Appendix : its provisions are briefly as follows :

The preamble sets forth the Act of 1693 providing for the settlement of a Protestant minister in the City of New York, and states that there was then no public church

¹ “ The Petition of the managers of the English protestant Church called Trinity Church was read and granted : Ordered a warrt issue for the drawing of their Charter of incorporacon, the quitrent to be one pepper corne as desird.”—*N. Y. Doc. Hist.*, iii., 249.

or building within the city ; that Gov. Fletcher had procured the erection of a church and steeple since the passage of the Act ; that a grant and confirmation had been made to certain persons, of the ground on which the church had been built and of the church itself ; that it was the design to dedicate and consecrate the said church and grounds adjacent to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, and to make the same a parish church ; therefore the Royal will and pleasure is that the said church, together with the said grounds inclosed and used as a cemetery, shall be the parish church and churchyard of the parish of Trinity Church within the said City of New York ; that the same is declared to be forever set apart and dedicated to the service of God and to be applied to the use of the inhabitants of the City of New York in communion with the Church of England ; that the Bishop of London be made the first rector of the same and his successors in office act as such thereafter ; that the Bishop of London and all persons in communion with the said church be a body corporate and politic ; and that on Easter Tuesday an election be held for two Wardens and twenty Vestrymen. To the rector the usual rights and privileges are granted, according to English Church law ; it was also provided that he should have an assistant in priest's orders, together with a clerk. Provision was made for completing the church by assessment on the inhabitants of the parish, and it was further declared that the church thus provided for should be the sole and only parish church of the City. Furthermore, the benefits of the Act of 1693 were to accrue to the parish church they established ; the rector of Trinity Church was declared to be the "good and sufficient Protestant Minister" designated in the said Act ; the Church Wardens and Vestrymen of the City of New York were required to pay to him the sums which, accord-

ing to the provisions of the said Act, they were required to raise for the support of the ministry in the city, and in case of their failing to do so, the rector for the time being was authorized to bring an action against them in any Court of Record within the province. The charter also declared the following-named persons to be Church Wardens and Vestrymen of the new parish :

Wardens :

Thomas Wenham,
Robert Lurting.

Vestrymen :

Caleb Heathcote,	Michael Howden,
William Merritt,	John Cooke,
John Tudor,	William Sharpas,
James Emott,	Lawrence Reade,
William Morris,	David Jamison,
Thos. Clarke,	William Huddleston,
Ebenezer Wilson,	Gabriel Ludlow,
Samuel Burt,	Thomas Burroughs,
Jas. Evetts,	John Merritt,
Nathaniel Marston,	William Janeway.

No opposition was made by the Dutch Church to the granting of this charter to the members of the Church of England, for the very good reason that the Dutch Church had received a charter previously. It was dated May, 1696, and, on many grounds was due to the Dutch, as they had special guarantees made them at the surrender, and needed an instrument of this sort to carry on their work and maintain discipline among themselves. Domine Selyns refers to this charter in his letter of September 30, 1696, and says : "The Title reads *The Charter of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church in the City of New York.*"¹ The charter is an extremely interesting docu-

¹ *Anthology of New Netherland*, p. 125.

The original charter of Trinity Church covers three very large sheets of parchment written in the usual antique style, with the seal composed of a reddish wax

ment covering almost everything that the lawyers could think of.

With the granting of this charter the cordial feeling between the Dutch Church and the Church of England was greatly strengthened, and that mutual respect and regard continue unabated to the present day. At this time, Governor Fletcher gave further important aid to the Church by granting it a lease of the piece of land known

and covered with yellowish paper. It is in a fair state of preservation, and is kept in the vaults of the Corporation in Fulton Street. The Corporation also has two quite old copies in manuscript. It has been printed in the statement of "Levi S. Chatfield, Attorney General of the State of New York, at the relation of Nicholas J. Marschel," given in a volume entitled, *History of various Litigations relating to the title of the Minister, Elders and Deacons of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of the City of New York, &c., &c.*, New York: S. W. Green, Printer, 1871. 8vo.

It opens by reciting that :

"William the third, by the grace of God King of England Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the faith &c. To all to whom these presents shall come sendeth greeting. Whereas wee have been informed by the humble petition of our Loving subjects Henricus Selyus, William Beekman, Joannes Kerbyle, Joannes De Peyster, Jacobus Kipp, Isaac De Foreest and Isaac De Reymer the present Minister, Elders and Deacons of the Dutch protestant congregaon in our said city of New York presented to our trusty and well beloved Benjaim Fletcher, our Captain Generall and governour in chiefe of our province of New York and Territory's depending thereon in America. That the said Minister elders deacons and the other members in communion of the said Dutch protestant congregaon in our said city of New York have at their own charge built and erected a church within our said city of New York and the same together with the cemetery or Church Yard thereunto adjoining have dedicated to the service of God." It guarantees to the parties named and to their successors "the free exercise and enjoyment of all their civill and Religious Rights," and guarantees the "Liberty of worshipping God according to the Constitutions and Direcons of the Reformed Churches in Holland, approved and instituted by the Nationall Synod of Dort," and that no person in the communion of said Church shall at any time "be any wayes molested, Punished, Disquieted or called in Question, for any difference in opinion in matters of the "Protestant Religion." They were also to have "full Power and authority to make rates and assessments upon all and every of the members in communion of the said Church," for "raising of Money for the Payment of the yearly stipends and sallaryies of the aforesaid officers of the said Church, and also for repairing, amending and enlarging the said Church and Steeple, Belfry Coemetry or Church Yard," &c. They were to have and enjoy all those things on their estates usually connected with lands, "silver and gold mines excepted," and including "fishing fouling hunting and Hawking." The charter is extremely interesting and remarkably full, while for all the privileges they were to pay the Crown "on the feast day of the annunciation of our Blessed Virgin Mary, at our City of New York the annual rent of Twelve shillings."

as the King's Farm, once the property of Governor Lovelace, and since his fall and disgrace, a perquisite of the Royal Governor. The lease was dated Aug. 19, 1697, and was to run for seven years. The tenant who had been in uninterrupted possession for many years became the tenant of the Church.

All arrangements having now been completed, including the providing of a suitable church edifice and the obtaining of a proper and sufficient charter, it remained only to find a clergyman and settle him in the newly constituted parish. Happily the action of the City Vestry had made this an easy matter. Mr. Vesey was already in England. While there he received the degree of A.M. from Merton College, Oxford, July 8, 1697. On the 25th day of July, he was ordained deacon, and August 2, priest, by the Bishop of London¹; and in December he returned to New York, happily escaping, on both voyages, outward and inward, the dangers of the sea. On his return the next step was to elect him minister of the new parish of Trinity Church, a parish which owed its existence, as we have seen, to the strenuous efforts of the Churchmen of the City of New York, in support of the position and official acts of the Governor. The honor of this final proceeding is due to the City Vestry. The Board having been convened, two Wardens and nine Vestrymen being present, it was ordered:

"Pursuant to the directions of an Act of Gen'l Assembly of this province entitled An Act for the Settling a Ministry and Raising a Maintenance for them in the City of New York, this Board doe unanimously Call the said Mr. William Vezey to officiate and have the care

¹ "25. July, 1697. Gulielmus Vesey Art. Mag. Universitatis Oxon in sacrum Diaconatus Ordinem fuit admissus."

"2. Augusti, 1697. Gulielmus Vesey, Art. Mag. Universitatis Oxon in sacrum Presbyteratus Ordinem fuit admissus."

Register of the Diocese of London, 1675-1809. See, also, the Appendix to this work for the documents containing Mr. Vesey's declaration of conformity, taken from the files at the Hall of Records in this city.

of Souls within this City of New York and the said William Vezey personally came before this Board and informed them that he was ready to exercise the Function he was called to when he shall be inducted into the same."¹

On the Feast of the Nativity, 1697, Governor Fletcher inducted the Reverend Mr. Vesey into his parish. The ceremony was performed in the new stone church belonging to the Dutch Congregation in Garden Street, the English Church being not yet ready for use. Among the subscribing witnesses were two of the Dutch ministers, Domine Henricus Selyns, of New York, and Domine Johannes Petrus Nucella, of Kingston, Ulster County.²

For about three months, until the completion of Trinity Church, Domine Selyns and Mr. Vesey preached alternately in the church in which the induction was held, the former officiating in the Dutch language, the latter in English. The Dutch were evidently in hearty sympathy with the English Church people at this period, and had shown their regard for the Governor by presenting him with a service of plate.³

It is now in order to speak of the personal history of Mr. Vesey, and to state what is known of his career and antecedents before his call to Trinity Church. These matters shall be considered in order in the following chapter.

¹ The Bishop of London wrote two letters to the Board, August 10 and 16, 1697, heartily commending the choice of Mr. Vesey and promising aid towards the completion of the church.

² Mr John Langdon Sibley, late Librarian of Harvard University, in a private letter Nov. 17, 1876, expressed the opinion, that as the appointments by the Governor and the return made to him by the inductor are in Latin, as the knowledge of the English language by the Dutch dominies was probably limited, and as the Classis of Amsterdam sent none but good scholars to this country, the ceremonies on this occasion may have been, in part at least, in the Latin tongue.

³ For additional information about the Induction see *The Parish Record*, Brooklyn, September and October, 1885, also Bishop Perry's *Memorial History*, ii., 477, and *Historical Magazine*, July, 1867, p. 14. For the Letters of orders of Mr. Vesey, documents relating to his first call, the Bishop of London's Letters to the City Vestry, and Governor Fletcher's Letter of Induction, see Appendix.

CHAPTER VI.

WILLIAM VESEY, FIRST RECTOR.

Parentage and Birth—A Member of a Jacobite Family Connected with the Church of England—Graduates at Harvard College—Lay Worker at Sag, Long Island, and afterwards at Hempstead—Origin of the Falsehoods about him—Refutation of the Statement that he was a Presbyterian—Officiates, as a Layman, at King's Chapel, Boston—Called thence to New York—Autobiographical Sketch of Early Life and Work—A Churchman from his Birth.

IT is high time that the cloud of misrepresentation and misstatement affecting the honor and good name of the first rector of Trinity Church should be dispersed, and that charges against him, calumnious in their nature if not in intention, should be so fully exposed that they may never be repeated. The statement has been made, and down to the present day has obtained credence among respectable and fair-minded men, that Mr. Vesey was a Dissenting minister, and a special protégé of Increase Mather's, when elected to the position of minister of the City of New York ; that he betrayed the Presbyterians, in whose interest he had been chosen to that office ; that he allowed himself to be caught by Colonel Fletcher and the managers of the Church of England ; and that he turned coat and took Holy Orders in that Church, in order to secure the tempting bribe of the call to the rectorship of the parish in New York.¹ As these

¹ Even so learned and unprejudiced a man as my friend the late Dr. George H. Moore accepted this story as substantially true, while he attempted a defence of Mr. Vesey's cause, and apologized for him as follows :

“ This is the earliest record of Mr. Vesey's adhesion to the Church of England. It is but just to infer that his course was dictated by honorable sentiments. There



*The Rev. William Vesey, D.D.
Appointed Rector February 6th, 1697. Died July 11th, 1746.*

ABEILCO
VIBRATOR
VIBRO

charges are, from first to last, without foundation in fact, and contradicted by direct and indirect testimony, it seems a duty to display them in full, with a view to the vindication of a consistent and loyal member of our Church, who was born and bred in her communion, had served her many years before he ever set foot in New York, and was in all respects worthy of the confidence reposed in him by the Churchmen of New York, and the high honors to which he was called. On this point something has been already said in the preceding chapter; it is now in order to present the facts in full.

William Vesey, son of William and Mary Vesey, was born at Braintree, in Massachusetts, October 10, 1674. The family had been established there for some time. Few details of his early life are known, but they are sufficient to establish the Churchly character of his people, and to indicate the nature of his training. A letter of September 1, 1710, from William Vesey and others, states that "Mr. Vesey, Minister of the Church in New York, when he was a youth can say that he with his parents and many more were communicants of the Church of England, and that in their family at Braintree divine service was daily read."¹

At the age of fifteen he entered Harvard College, be-

were not wanting in his lifetime those who could impugn his motives of action, and the violence of party charged him with inconsistency, a base regard for temporal interest, and want of fidelity to the principles to which he was supposed to be pledged by his birth and training among the Independents of New England; but a generous spirit cannot fail to sympathize in his emancipation from narrow prejudices and to applaud as judicious a conformity so amply vindicated by the success of his prolonged and subsequent ministry."—*Hist. Mag.*, July, 1867, p. 12. The writer himself, being influenced by Dr. Moore, took the same view in his article on Trinity Parish in Bishop Perry's *History*, vol. ii., 474.

¹ On the Church in Braintree, consult Adams's *Three Episodes in Massachusetts History*, vol. ii., 621; the Records of Christ Church, Quincy; the Records of the First Church, Quincy; the Braintree Records; Potter's *History of Quincy*, etc. The Vesey family will be found there in many relations.

ing then, as he wrote at a later period, a communicant of the Church of England. He graduated at the age of nineteen, in a class numbering fifteen, of whom ten became clergymen.¹ There is no evidence to show that he ever swerved from his allegiance to the Church or forsook her communion. After graduating, he went to Sag, a village on Long Island south of the present Sag Harbor, and preached there for six months, having, no doubt, as was the case with the Rev. Mr. Eburne, at Brookhaven, in 1685, the support of members of the Church of England. After that, he went to Hempstead and remained there two years, preaching as before. This episode in his life has been misunderstood, from want of attention to his own statement on the subject. A letter of his is preserved, in which he says, that, "not being of age to receive orders," at the time of his graduation,² he undertook work as a layman, "by advice of some of our Churches"; a statement which shows that he entered on his work at the suggestion, not of Mather and the New England Congregationalists, but of Churchmen, who thought that under the circumstances he might well exercise his gifts for the good of the Church in which he had been born and bred.

The people of Hempstead were made up of friends of the Church of England and Dissenters. No religious denomination ruled. Miller writes that Mr. Vesey "without any Orders, is at Hempstead," where there were some "300 or 400 English, most Dissenters, and some Dutch."³ It is clear that Mr. Vesey's work was that of a lay reader and preacher in a missionary field. He performed no

¹ See reprint of *Catalogus Harvardiarni*, Cambridge, 1880, p. 6. "Guilielmus Veazie, Mr., Oxon., 1697," is twelfth in the list, which seems to have been arranged with reference to the social status of the students.

² It is well known that in the Church of England no man can be admitted to Deacon's Orders who is under 21 years of age.

³ Miller's *Description*, Gowan's edition, p. 37.

priestly function, and served no otherwise than as many laymen are now serving the Church in neglected portions of this country. The Rev. J. Thomas, who came to Hempstead as the missionary of the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1704, wrote five years later that in this district the people had been "wholly unacquainted with the Blessed Sacrament for five and fifty years together." As they had "been so long in the disuse of it,"¹ this worthy missionary may be regarded as the true successor of young Vesey, who doubtless prepared the way for him; he officiated in the building which was used by Vesey. That the latter, his forerunner, did good service to the Church, is the opinion of a learned and competent annalist, who says, referring to Mr. Vesey's services, "We have abundant reason for claiming that it was greatly owing to him that St. George's parish [Hempstead] came into existence."²

The gossip and false story that Mr. Vesey was sent to Hempstead by the Congregationalists to promote the cause of Dissent was an invention of his enemies. It appears to have been first put in circulation about the year 1714³; and it is only in consequence of want of access to the original records that it held its ground so long, and deceived men of such learning and critical skill as Dr. George H. Moore. Every addition to our stock of known facts relating to the Veseys makes its refutation more easy. For example, it has been ascertained that Vesey's father was a Jacobite, and that the son was accused of

¹ Digest of *S. P. G. Records*, 1701-1892, p. 58.

² *History of St. George's Church, Hempstead, Long Island, N. Y.*, by the Rev. William H. Moore, D.D.

³ The slander appears in a paper entitled "An Address from Governor Hunter's Friends to the Bishop of London against the Rev. Mr. Vesey." It is printed in full in the *Documentary History of New York*, vol. iii., 264-8, where any one may read the choice *morceau*.

the same tendencies. Jacobite and Dissenter were not convertible terms; and nothing can be more unlikely than that Mather would have sent a mere youth of that reputation on an important mission. The father was bitter in his opposition to Mather and the Congregationalists, and Sewall writes, June 20, 1696, "Wm. Veisy is bound over for plowing on the day of Thanksgiving."¹ They read the daily prayers from the Book of Common Prayer, and the father, Lieutenant Veasey, contributed towards "erecting a church for God's worship in Boston according to the Constitution of the Church of England." "In 1704, Christ Church, Braintree, was fully organized, several of the names found earliest in the town records, such as Veazie, Saunders, and Bass, being those of its wardens and vestrymen."²

In 1696, Lieutenant William Veazie was Churchwarden, and it was during his term of office that, for deliberately ploughing on Thanksgiving Day, as a protest against the appointment of days of fasts and thanksgiving by the Puritan party, he was punished by being put in the pillory.

The Braintree organization lay dormant till 1726, "when the matter was revived and a site for the proposed edifice was conveyed by deed bearing date of August 25, 1727, as the free gift to the Society [*i. e.*, the S. P. G.] by William and Benjamin Veazey, 'for the building of a Church of England and no other purpose.'"³

The donors and the members of the congregation further bound themselves to send over young Ebenezer Miller, then a student of divinity, to England, to receive Episcopal ordination.

¹ *Mass. Hist. Soc.*, vol. v., series v., 428.

² Adams's *Three Episodes in Massachusetts History*, vol. ii, 621, 622.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 628.

Young Vesey, the son, clearly suffered on account of the father's known views, for which the latter stood so firm. The father had been firm in declaring himself a member of the Church of England, refusing to be taxed for the support of Dissent.¹ The statement that Mr. Vesey went from Long Island to New York is not true; on the contrary he was in Boston, and connected with King's Chapel in that town, when elected by the City Vestry of New York. Of the facts on this point we must next take notice.

In the year 1692, the Rev. Samuel Myles had charge of King's Chapel, at Boston. Mr. Myles was the son of the Rev. John Myles, an amiable Baptist minister of Rehoboth. He graduated at Harvard College in 1684, and received pay for teaching school in Charlestown from July 17 of that year until October, 1687, and perhaps longer. He appears to have had some trouble about his ecclesiastical views; two years before his graduation he, with two others, was "publicly admonished for speaking irreverently before ye Corporation."² What took place after the close of his services at Charlestown does not appear; but the records of King's Chapel show that Mr. Myles officiated there July 1, 1689. There is no convincing proof that he had ordination until he went to England in 1692; the times were trying, and it was necessary to make an expensive and perilous voyage to England

¹ Bellomont wrote from Boston to the Lords of Trade, July 22, 1699: "Vesey's father lives near this town, is a most violent Jacobite and perhaps the boldest and most avowed one that has been known anywhere. The indictment (for he was try'd convict and sentenced to stand in the Pillory for uttering desperate words against his Majesty) is worth your Lordship's reading, a copy whereof goes (No. 4) tho' it be not a constant rule that the same principles descend from father to son, yet it must be granted that where a son is bred up to the age of a man under an ill father, 'tis extraordinary if the son do not imbibe ill principles from the ill man his father." This is the kind of a son said to have been selected by Mather for an important mission! *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iv., 534. The Boston "Records" confirm this, and show that he was held in £500 bail. He maintained that King James was his lawful prince.

² *N. E. Hist., Gen. Register*, vii., 53.

in order to obtain Orders¹; and this led to loose views on the subject. There were indications of the same practices in Virginia. Mr. Myles probably preached without ordination; but there were no irregularities in connection with the Holy Communion, as appears from the fact that while the weekly collections of the church are recorded, there is no mention of the purchase of sacramental bread and wine during the period from July, 1, 1689, to July, 1692; while, immediately after his departure to England, and on the entrance of the Rev. Mr. Smith as officiating minister, there comes the entry of money "gathered at the sacrament."²

In Rapelye's sketch of the Rev. William Vesey it is stated that he "pursued his theological studies under the direction of the Rev. Samuel Myles, Rector of King's Chapel, Boston." In an unpublished letter of his, Mr. Vesey says that he "preached three months in the Church at Boston at the request of Mr. Miles and the Church Wardens." Sewall writes in his diary, July 26, 1696, "Mr. Vesey preach'd at the Ch. of Engl'd; had many Auditors"³; while the "Records of King's Chapel" show what he received for the sermon: "July 27 pd. Mr. Phesy for sermon 1. 00. 00." Practically he was the assistant minister, and though as yet without Orders, was in regular training for the coming work. He states in the letter referred to, that he was at King's Chapel when called to the City of New York. Thus at every point the case is complete, and the falsehood of the statement

¹ The first two persons appointed assistants at King's Chapel failed to reach their destination. Dansy died on the passage out, and White's ship was blown to Barbadoes, where he died. See Greenwood's *History of King's Chapel*, p. 54; also Foote's *Annals of King's Chapel*; likewise Beardsley's *Life of Bishop Seabury*, Appendix A., pp. 463-4.

² Foote's *Annals of King's Chapel*, i., 9.

³ *Mass. Hist. Soc.*, vol. v., series v., 430.

that he was a Dissenting minister on Long Island at the time of his election is apparent. Let us hear, in conclusion, the man's account of himself, given in the letter of which mention has been made :

"I have been a communicant of the Church of England ever since I was 15 years old, and after I had my degree in the College of New England, by advice of some of our Churches (not being of age to receive Orders) I preached 6 months at Sag and 2 years at Hempstead in this Province, where, I presume, my Life and Doctrine were no disservice to our Church, and after 3 months in the Church at Boston, at the request of Mr. Miles and the Church Wardens ; and then, being in the 24th year of my age, I was called, November 2d, 1696, by the Church Wardens and Vestry of the City of New York to officiate as minister pursuant to an act of Assembly, as will appear by the inclosed minute of said Assembly and Vestry. Accordingly, I departed hence for England, there was honored by the University of Oxford with the degree of Master of Arts, July 12, 1696. Ordained Priest ye 2d of August following, and the same year I returned to the City of New York."

(Letter of Mr. Vesey in *Letter-Book S. P. G.*, vol. 24, p. 461, part of original, bound up with *N. Y.—N. England*, 1702-99, No. 28.) ¹

¹ The statements found in *American Presbyterianism* (New York, 1885) are grossly erroneous, especially on pages 144-7. Mr. Myles's letter may properly be given here as one of the many testimonials to the honesty and consistency of Mr. Vesey's purpose and character.

BOSTON, June ye 25, 1714.

Sr—I should be wanting in my Duty to religion, and ye Rev'd Mr. Vesey, whose conversation and manner of life I have had certain knowledge of, from his Youth should I not embrace this opportunity of recommending him as a very worthy person to ye venerable Society, whose behaviour has been circumspect and unblamable, his conduct grave and prudent ; his diligence unwearied in his ministerial function, and in a word thro'out his whole Course has been a pattern of the Christian Life and an honour to our Church. I therefore hope and pray that no misrepresentations and aspersions of such who to serve a turn make fair pretences, and Cover their abominable intentions with the most artfull dissimulation, may sully his reputation or prejudice his Interest in ye least. And in good hopes yt he shall receive all necessary encouragement and obtain a safe and quiet settlement for ye time to come I remain your most humble, most obedient, most faithful serv't.

SAMUEL MYLES.

(Manuscripts of the S. P. G., vol. ix., 360.)

If Mr. Vesey needed any further indorsement by way of showing that he was in every particular qualified for the rectorship of Trinity, and came into it in an easy and natural way, without compromise of principle, he might have had it from one of the most interesting and admirable personages of his time. Colonel Caleb Heathcote, his friend and warm supporter, was a man whose character and standing as citizen, soldier, statesman, and Churchman cannot be impeached. Caleb Heathcote was the son of Gilbert Heathcote, Mayor of Chester in Old England. He came to New York in 1691, bought lands in West Chester, and erected the Manor of Scarsdale. He was Judge of West Chester, Colonel of Militia, Councillor of the Province, and for three years Mayor of New York; he was also Commander of the Colonial Forces from 1715 to his death in 1721.¹ A well-read and intelligent Churchman, and an earnest and able advocate of Church principles, he was emphatically a member of the Church militant and full of missionary zeal. The Venerable Society was hardly organized before he put himself in communication with its representatives; his correspondence with that Society began as early, at least, as September 30, 1702, and continued for the remainder of his life, indicating throughout his ardent desire to extend the work of the Society and secure the Episcopate for the Colonies. The letters of this estimable man vindicate Governor Fletcher from the charge made by his enemies that he had perverted the Ministry Act from its original intention and forced an Establishment on a reluctant population by an unjust application of that Act to the Church of England. Colonel Heathcote was Mr. Vesey's stanch friend, not only before his call by the City Vestry, but afterwards, as long as he lived; among the founders of

¹ See Bolton's *West Chester*, vol. ii., 226; also *History of West Chester County*, 1886, vol. ii., p. 609, n., and Index to *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, under "Heathcote."

Trinity Corporation, he was always loyal to its rector, and his strenuous defender against the enemies who never ceased to harass and annoy him by false accusations and unfriendly acts. The enjoyment of the confidence and support of such a man as this is a sufficient guaranty, if any was needed, of the rectitude and high character of one whose fame and honor are in the keeping of his descendants and successors in office, and of all members of the venerable parish which he served for nearly half a century.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BUILDING OF TRINITY CHURCH.

Commencement of the Work by the "Managers of the Church of England"—Patent Granted for Wrecks and Drift Whales—Building Contract—"Managers" become the Church Vestry—Collections and Supplies for the Work—Slaves in Sallee—Fletcher's Arms Set up—Appointment of ■ Sexton—William Huddleston Appointed Clerk—Opening of the Church for Divine Service, March 13, 1698—Marriage of Mr. Vesey—Subsequent History of his Wife—Farewell Address to Governor Fletcher—First Election of Parish Officers by the People.

THE Charter of Trinity Church was signed at the Fort in New York, May 6, 1697, being the 9th year of King William III. ; it bears the signature and seal of Governor Fletcher and the Secretary of the Council. A brief memorandum of its principal provisions has already been given.

It will be remembered that the construction of a church had been commenced by the "Managers of the Affairs of the Church of England," as they styled themselves, before the charter was granted; that Mr. Vesey had gone to England; and that at the time of his ordination and induction, the church was not yet ready for use. As for the support of the rector, the law required that "£160 should be raised by the City Wardens and Vestry by warrant, and that they should pay him the maintenance aforesaid at four equal and Quarterly Payments, under the penalty of Five Pounds current Money aforesaid for every Refusal, Neglect or Default."

The work of building being now well advanced, the Governor granted to the "Managers" a patent for wrecks

and drift whales. This curious document, probably the oldest in the possession of the Corporation, is of unique interest.

It recites that the Wardens and other Managers concerned in the building of the church are authorized "To seize upon and secure all Weifts Wrecks Drift Whales and whatsoever else Drives from the high sea and is then lost below high water mark and not having a lawful Owner within bounds and limits of his Majesties Province of New York." They also are empowered "to tow ashore and then to cutt up the said Whales and try into Oyle and secure the Whalebone," applying the proceeds "towards the building of the Church aforesaid and to no other use whatsoever until the same be perfectly finished."¹

The building contract, dated June 3, 1697, appears to be worth reproducing.

"Articles of Agreement, made agreed and concluded on between Wm. Merritt, Jeremiah Tothill, Wm. Morris, Thomas Clark managrs for Trinity Church & Derrick Van D burgh mason viz It is agreed yt said Derick shall furnish said managrs with four good and sufficient masons such as said managrs shall like two whereof shall be Abra— & Petter Rissio for which said managrs are to pay four shill and six pence per diem also said van de burgh is to furnish sd managrs for use of Trinity Church three labourers, viz Jack his own negro, Jack Jame's negro & ye negro belonging to ye french minister at three shills per diem and said Derrick to receive his money every Saturday night. Two masons must begin next monday and the two other to begin the monday comes seven night and the three labourers must begin on monday next to work and all said masons & labourers from the time they enter upon the work shall not desert ye same without ye leave of said manags and shall faith fully perform the several duties. In testimony of which said agreement wee have sett our hands this third day of June, 1697, in

¹ This is engrossed upon a yellow and worm-eaten parchment in possession of the Corporation bearing date of September 9, 1696. The privilege was extended so as to give the Church Wardens and Vestry right to all such drift whales as should come on the Island of Nassau. See Records of the Vestry, i., ii., under date of October 25, 1697.

the ninth year of the reign of Wm the Third of England, Scotland, France & Ireland Kings &c.

WILL MERRETT
JEREMIAH TOTHILL
WILL MORRIS
THOS. CLARKE
D. BURGH."¹

The first entry in the first volume of the Records of Trinity Parish relates to

"A meeting of the Managers and Members of Trinity Church, in the City of New York ye 28th of June, 1697."

It was then ordered,

"That Capt. Lawrence Reed, Mr. Sam : Burte, Mr. John Crooke & Mr. Tho : Burroughs do Collect the arrears of Subscriptions for the carrying on of Trinity Church & make their return Munday next."

Overseers were appointed for each working day.²

Two days later, June 30th, the "Managers" were merged into the regular Vestry of the church, by a resolution :

"That the Minutes of this Board for the future be entred in the name of the Church Wardens & Vestrymen of the English Protestant Church of the City of New Yorke, Incorporated by the name of Trinity Parish."³

¹ Special MSS. No. 2.

² Records, i., 1. The *Historical Magazine*, 1872-4, contains what are called "Early Records of Trinity Church," being a portion of the contents of a manuscript covering minutes of the Wardens and Vestry from June 28, 1697, to July 1, 1717. It is stated that they were found among some papers belonging to Dr. John Clarkson Jay, of Rye, New York. "The manuscript, when collated, was found to cover one hundred and sixty-five pages of foolscap paper; not numbered, but consecutive, and almost without a break. Some of the sheets are stitched together in their books, whilst others are detached. The numerous erasures, and insertions of words and sentences, as well as the orders taken for the transcription of the minutes, show that this was the rough draft of proceedings, to be copied into the Vestry Register. As such, it doubtless remained in the hands of the Clerk, as a paper of no particular value." See *Hist. Mag.*, 1872, pp. 10, 73; 1873, pp. 218, 285, 351, and 1874, pp. 10, 101, 167, 267. The last portion of the printed matter ends with the proceedings of January 26, 1708, N. S.

³ Records, i., 2. The rough draft reads, "Incorporated by the name of Trinity Parish of the City of New Yorke in America."

It was also ordered,

"That the Address to be drawn to return his Excellency the acknowledgment of this Board for his Excellency's many Generous Gifts, &c., do run in the same stile."

Then comes the entry that

"The following Address was read & approv'd & ordered to be sign'd be ye wholl Board."

It was further ordered that

"Mr. Crook & Mr. Burrows & Mr. Burt Shall pay fourteene pounds fiveteene Shillings & Nine pence wch they have gathered in of Subscriptions to Mr. Wilson in order to pay for Stones & workmen." Also that "Mr. Mayor, Mr. Burt, Mr. Lurting, Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Clark, Mr. Morris, doe call in all papers relating to the Church, and doe Settle the accotts that they . . . meett on Monday next . . . att three the Clock . . . and from time to time untill the accotts be finished . . . to . . . meett att the house of Mr. [the] Mayor." Again, that "Mr. Mayor, Mr. Tothill doe provid. an Engine to . . . gett up Stones . . . to the Steple, to take Mr. Evertt to Assistt them."

In further quotation from the Records, we shall simply give the date, with such extracts as it may seem desirable to make.

July 31, 1697. "The Church-wardens & Vestry men" met, nine persons being present, when overseers were appointed, and it was ordered

"That Mr. James Evets take care to Speak for Timber for the second floore of the Steeple," while "the Church wardens take care for Scaffold Poles," and "noe Carmen shall after notice given Digg or carry away any ground or Earth from behind the English Church & burying ground."

August 16. A meeting was held, thirteen persons being present, when "new subscriptions for the carrying on of Trinity Church" were reported.

It was ordered

"That Capt. Tothill & Mr. Crooke doe take care to get a Kill of Stone Lime & thirty Carte Loade of Oyster Shell Lime with all expedition,"

while "Capt. Wm. Morris, Mayor, Mr. Burroughs & Mr. Ludlow do goe about with the List to get what new subscriptions they can for the better carrying on of the Steeple for the week ensuing, & also to collect what subscriptions they can that are in arrears."

The Records give, in detail, though monotonously, the proceedings in the work of building the church ; orders for the purchase of materials, acknowledgments of contributions and subscriptions, reports of overseers. It does not appear that any supervising architect was employed. Every Monday, at 5 P.M., the Church Wardens and Vestrymen met to pay the workmen, thus anticipating the recent movement in favor of Monday as pay day.

September 6. The following vote was passed :

"That there be a petition drawn for the money that was Collected for the Slaves in Sally & in case that it was not dispos'd of for that use then to be dispos'd for other Pious uses, as his Excellency & Council should think fitt."¹

October 25. Ordered

"That Mr. David Jamison & Mr. Tho : Clarke do with all Convenient Expedition cause his Excellency's Armes to be engraved in stone with an Inscription to be placed under neath them, and the same when finish'd to be plac'd over the South dore on the outside of Trinity Church & that the charge thereof be defray'd out of the Public Stock."²

"The Board were also informed that Nich : Feilding a person reputed of honest behaviour & Conversation has offered his services to be Sexton of Trinity Church & that till the Corporation of the Church be formally Establish'd & a Sallary allow'd for that service, he will serve by the order of this board Gratis. It is therefore ordered & he is hereby appointed Sexton of the Said Church."³

¹ The slaves in Sallee, Tunis, and Algiers were English merchants and sailors captured by Turkish pirates. Their sufferings excited the deepest sympathy. Queen Elizabeth took an active part in the matter, and Archbishop Whitgift, in 1596, urged that a collection be taken "in every diocese of the better sort of the people, for the delivery of their poor countrymen now in Slavery under the Turk." *Anderson's Church of England in the Colonies*, i., 88.

² Records, i., 9.

³ *Ibid.*, i., 11.

At this period it would appear that loose ways prevailed in respect to burials, and that some persons were inclined, in the absence of regulations, to invade the church grounds at their pleasure. Accordingly it was voted at this session,

"That after the Expiration of four weeks from the date hereof no negros be burried within the bounds & Limitts of the Church yard of Trinity Church, that is to say, in the rear of the present burying place, & that no person or negro whatsoever, do presume after the term above Limited to break up any grounds for the burying of his Negro, as they will answer at their peril & that this order be forthwith published."¹

November 1. The whales² having proved somewhat remiss in coming on shore and the weekly orders to the Committee to "use their endeavors to gett what Contributions & Subscriptions they can gett," not having the desired effect, while at the same time there was "a necessity of paying the Labourers of the Church," and "the money in banke" not being sufficient "to do the same," Captain Wendham volunteered a loan of "Ten pounds for the said service, wch was paid to Capt. Wilson," who, in turn, was to account "for the same." Thus the clerk was able to make the record: "all said Labourers that did come for their money were accordingly paid."

January 17, 1698. The minutes contain the following record: "Present the Reverend Mr. William Vessey

¹ Records, i., 11.

² The whale, however, was by no means an abstraction. The *Boston News Letter* of February 24, 1707, says that "Last week a whale about 40 feet long was struck a few miles to the eastward of this city [New York], and afterwards passed thro' the harbour, and was killed in Hudson River and brought down hither, where she is exposed to view." While in September, 1766, "five men and two boys, being out a fishing, discovered a whale swimming about, near Coney Island, on which soon after it ran ashore, and before it could get off they came up and killed it with a rusty sword that happened to be on board the vessel." De Voe's *Market Book*, vol. i., 112, 113. In 1773 whales were seen in the North and East Rivers. In 1857 ■ forty-eight-foot whale was taken at Sandy Hook.

Rector." This is the earliest mention of Mr. Vesey's name thus far found in any of the Records.

Jany. 17, 1698. "The board having considered the necessity there is for a Clerk to execute that office for the service of the Congregation of Trinity Church, & being Sensible of the good Services Mr. William Huddleston hath done in that office for some years & his readiness still to officiate in that office have nominated & appoint'd the said William Huddleston Clerk of the said Church for the year ensuing to Commence from the 11th day of this instant month of January, and that for his encouragmt for the due execucon of the said office he have a Sallary of twenty pounds currant money of New York and that the same be paid quarterly." ¹

January 31. Mr. Vesey's name appears in the Records for the second time; and the Board proceeded to deal with matters relating to the unfinished church edifice. The first entry is as follows:

"His Excellency, Benjamin Fletcher, Capt.-General and Governor in Chief of this Province being the founder & chief promoter of Trinity Church, & being desirous at his charge to erect a private Pew for the use of his Family, &c., this Board having a due Sense of all his Excels favors have ordered that Mr. James Evets do lay out the ground for the same in the east part of the Church next to the Chancell, to remain forever to the aforesaid use or uses of others, as his Excel shall think to direct."

By the next entry it is ordered "That Trinity Church be cleared to-morrow, Divine service to be read therein the next Sunday. Mr. Jeremiah Tothill having accepted to oversee the performance thereof, this board promising to refund him in the expence thereof." ² The windows and doors were still unfinished, and the church was not opened till March. On the 7th day of that month an order appears, "that Capt. Tho: Clarke, Mr. Wm. Huddleston, and Mr. John Crooke do take care that the Church be cleared and put in the best posture they can order that

¹ Records, i., 14. For lists of Wardens, Vestrymen, Clerks, and Sextons, see Appendix.

² *Ibid.*, i., 15.

Divine Service and the Communion be there administered the next Sabbath day.”¹ On Sunday, March 13, 1698, Trinity Church was occupied for the first time.

The particulars of the opening services are wanting. Considering the condition of the building, however, the arrangements must have been of a simple character. The papers recorded at the time by request of Mr. Vesey attest the transaction, the paper of the Bishop of London being supplemented by the Governor’s declaration, which says :

“these are to certifie unto all to whom these presents shall come or may concern, that on Sunday, the 13th of March instant, at the first opening of Trinity Church in New Yorke, after ye reading the Morning and Evening Service, Mr. William Vesey did declare before his Congregation his unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing contained in and by the book Entituled the book of Common prayer, and administration of the Sacraments and other rites and ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England, together with the Salter or psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in Churches in the form and manner of making, consecrateing, and ordaining and consecrateing of bishops, priests and Deacons, and in the Time of divine Service did read a certificate from the Rt. Reverend father in God Henry Lord Bishop of London that he had subscribed the acknowledgement or Declaration according to the act of uniformity.”²

March 26th. Ordered

“ That the gallery design’d to be built on ye South side of Trinity Church at ye charge of ye Governmt for ye use of ye Govr & Council of this province have a part added to it at ye charge of this Corporation to run towards the West end of ye Church & those persons that will trespass therein do in proportion pay the charge thereof.”³

We also find it reported that

“ his Excel has given a Bible and some other Books to this Corporation for ye use of Trinity Church.”

¹ Records, i., 18.

² Record of Wills, Surrogate’s Office, No. 2, 1682 to 1692, pp. 100-204.

³ Records, i., 21.

The youthful rector's entrance upon his important duties was signalized by his marriage, as appears from the existence of a "License granted to Mr. William Vesey of the one party and Mrs. Mary Reede of the other party, the first of March, 1697-8."¹ The story that the lady appeared in Trinity Church as a bride the first time it was opened for public worship appears to be based on a doubtful tradition.² Mrs. Vesey survived her husband, and subsequently married Judge Daniel Horsmanden. By her will of 1763, she left two houses in King Street, worth £1485, to her brother, Joseph Reade. She may have been the daughter of Lawrence Reade, one of the first Vestrymen of the parish; but no will by Lawrence is found in the Surrogate's Office. (See the will of Mary [Vesey] Horsmanden, liber xxiv., 240-42.)

April 11. Mr. Huddleston, "by reason of great business that call'd him abroad," being obliged to resign the office of Clerk, it was "ordered that Mr. Nath. Marston be Clarke of Trinity Church during his well behaviour in ye said office, & that he have a Salary of Twenty pounds per Ann."³

April 25. Order was taken for the presentation of an address to Governor Fletcher on his resignation of the office which he had so long held, to the great advantage of the Church and the people.

On "Tuesday ye 26th day of Aprill, 1698," there occurred the first election of parish officers by the people; for,

"Pursuant to the directions of the Charter for Incorporating the Inhabitants of this City in Communion of the Church of England as by Law establishd the Inhabitants of Said City in Communion as aforesaid did this day Convene together in Trinity Church according to

¹ Record of Wills, No. 5274.

² See Dr. Geo. H. Moore, *Hist. Mag.*, July, 1867, p. 15.

³ Records, i., 22.

public notice & did then elect & Choose the persons hereinafter named to serve in the respective offices of Church wardens & Vestrymen of Trinity Church for the year ensuing." ¹

¹ "Thomas Wenham, Thomas Clarke, Church Wardens, William Merret, Esq., Col. Caleb Heathchote [*sic*] Wm. Morris, Eben: Wilson, Jame Emmet, Robt. Lurting Mich: Hawdon, John Crooke, Wm. Shorpas, Jerem: Tothill, William Huddleston, Jame Evets Tho: Burroughs, David Jamison, Math: Clarksons Wm. Nicoll, Esq., Wm. Anderson, Rich: Willet, Robert Walters Giles Gaudineau."—Records, i., 24.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR BELLOMONT.

Sketch of Bellomont's Personal History—His Sympathy with the Leislerians—Dissolves Fletcher's Assembly, and Attacks the Church—Strongly Opposed to Mr. Vesey—Tries to Obtain Possession of the King's Farm—Progress of Work on Trinity Church—Death of Bellomont, March 5, 1701—Confusion and Disorder in New York—Revival of Leislerianism—Assault on Colonel Bayard and Other Churchmen—The Infamous Atwood—Narrow Escape of Bayard from Execution—Saved by the Arrival of Lord Cornbury—Atwood's Aspersions on Mr. Vesey—Letter of Vesey to the Governor of Virginia, Reviewing the State of Affairs.

WE have reached a point at which the fortunes of the Church in New York underwent a serious and unpleasant change. Governor Fletcher having departed, a new Governor appeared in the person of Richard Coote, Earl of Bellomont. Appointed March 16, 1697,¹ he was not commissioned until June 18th following, while his instructions bore date August 31st. This man was of Irish descent, the grandson of Sir Charles Coote, a soldier of fortune, and son of the Baron of Coloony, whom he succeeded in 1683. After the accession of James II. he went to the Continent and espoused the cause of the Prince of Orange. Returning in 1688, he became a member of Parliament, and was advanced by William to

¹ "My Lords: the King has been pleased to appoint the Earle of Bellomont to be Governor of the Provinces of New Yorke, Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire and to be Captaine Generall during the War of all his Majesty's forces both there and in Connecticutt, Rhode Island and the Jerseys; which I signifie to your Lordships by His Majesty's directions that you may give orders to have his severall commissions and instructions prepared accordingly. I am my Lords, Your Lordships most humble servt Shrewsbury. Whitehall, 16th March 1696-7. To the Lords of the Council of Trade and Plantations."—*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iv., 261-2.

the dignity of Earl of Bellomont. In the House of Lords he was a member of the committee to inquire into the case of Leisler and Milburne and strongly expressed the opinion that they were "barbarously murdered." He came to New York, therefore, in avowed sympathy with the faction who represented the ideas and were identified with the acts of Leisler, and looked to him to reverse the political machinery of the province and undo what had been done. A man of narrow mind and strong prejudices, he was predestined to no end of trouble in his government; nor was it long before the Churchmen of the province realized the nature of the change in their position. As a seaman might have expressed it, the wind had now come out dead ahead and was kicking up an ugly sea.

Bellomont did not at first disclose his policy with reference to the Church; he was received by the Corporation of Trinity in a most respectful and honorable manner. Upon arriving in New York, however, he set to with a high hand. His first act was to dissolve Governor Fletcher's Assembly, and call a new one. He proceeded to make many charges against his predecessor, including those of dishonesty, oppression, and collusion with pirates, who then, as under the Dutch *régime*, made New York their rendezvous. Men who do their duty fearlessly like Fletcher cannot escape aspersion; but Bellomont's proceedings were so violent that he showed himself deserving of the hostility which he subsequently encountered. Every charge that he brought against Fletcher was in due time directed against himself, including that of being concerned in the affairs of Captain Kidd.¹ As for his atti-

¹ The *N. Y. Col. Docs.* contain masses of papers relating to Fletcher, and they may be found by reference to his name in the General Index. The papers relating to Bellomont are equally numerous and may be found indexed in the same volume, pp. 67-70. See also Mr. Frederick de Peyster's Monograph on *The Life and Administration of Richard, Earl of Bellomont*, New York, 1879. The portrait bears

tude towards the Church, it was that of a pronounced latitudinarian. Apparently displeased at the kindly relations between the English and the Dutch, the leading bodies in the place, he seemed desirous of abolishing all denominational distinctions, and, to that end, of undoing all that had been done thus far to give the Church of England a proper settlement and her legal position in the place. His language is violent ; for instance, on the 22d of June, 1698, he writes thus :

"The late Governor made advantage to divide the people by supposing a Dutch and English interest to be different here, and therefore under the notion of a Church of England, to be put in opposition to the Dutch and French Churches established here, he supported a few rascally English who are a scandall to their nation and the Protestant Religion and here opposers to the Protestant Religion, and who joyned with him in the worst methods of gaine and severely used the Dutch, except some few Merchants whose trade he favored."

This was a rather strong beginning, but the quotation is characteristic of his administration.

Bellomont says further, April 27, 1699 :

"I discourage all I can these distinctions of Dutch and English which is set on foot by the factious people of this town, and I tell 'em those only are to be acknowledg'd Englishmen that live in obedience to the laws of England." ¹

By this time the parish were persuaded that in Bellomont they had found an enemy instead of a friend. ²

The next month he writes again, evidently under the influence of the Leisler party, and thus continues his screed :

"I am sorry to say it, but 't is an undoubted truth, the English here are soe profligate that I cannot find a man fit to be trusted, that 's capable of businesse. The clerk of the Council that I was forced to put no proof of authenticity. The work, however, is very interesting, as an instance of the permanence of family traditions, for Mr. de Peyster was a lineal descendant of the de Peyster of Bellomont's time.

¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iv., 508

² *Ibid.*, iv., 325.

in Jamison's place is a very sottish fellow, and I fear almost as ill a man as his predecessor, but being bred a Clerk in Chancery in England, he writes indifferently well and is quick in businesse ; but I doubt fled from England not for being honest. I was obliged to employ one Ludlow a merchant to be Clerk of the Assembly this Session, one that was lately convict of clipping and coining in this towne. I think proper to acquaint your Lordships of this circumstance, that you may see how impossible a thing it is to make a right choyce of men in this place and what sort of men I have to doe with."

He adds an equally severe paragraph on the Dutch, saying,

"Those that are honest of the Dutch, being formerly kept out of employment and businesse are very ignorant, and can neither speak nor write proper English."¹

We must remember the strong bias under which he wrote, and his very limited opportunities of becoming acquainted with the character of the people.

It may be here remarked that for more than an entire generation the English and Dutch mingled together, and that there were few opportunities for training the people in the principles and ways of the Church. The process of differentiation began with Vesey and Fletcher, and could hardly be appreciated by such a man as Bellomont, who was an indifferent Churchman, and ready to give nearly equal encouragement to the Church and Dissent. He reminds us of those of our own time, who are strong advocates of Christian union, provided always that it be effected at the expense of the faith and institutions of the Church.

The hostility of Bellomont to the Church took the form of an attack on the charter. Attempts having been made to dispute its validity, there was great anxiety to discover defects, if they existed, and to remedy them. At a meeting of the Vestry held June 8, 1698, this subject was considered, and a sub-committee was appointed to

¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iv., 520.

take whatever steps might be deemed necessary to have the privileges and powers of the Corporation confirmed by Act of Assembly.¹ There was cause for the uneasiness felt by Churchmen on this subject. Complaints against the proceedings of Governor Fletcher in the form of a long communication to the Lords of Trade, and dated January 9, 1698, had been sent to England, signed by T. Weaver, Agent for the Province of New York, and among them were matters involving the interests of the Church.² A response was received from the King, as follows :

"To our Right Trusty and Well Beloved Cousin, Richard, Earl of Bellomont, our Captain General and Govr.-in-Chief of our Province of New York in America.

"William R.

"Right Trusty and Right Well Beloved Cousin, We Greet you well.

"Whereas, we are informed that ye Inhabitants of our Town of New York, in that our Colony, having at their Great Expense and Charge Erected and built a Church there, for performing Divine Service according to ye usage of ye Church of England, and that they are under apprehensions of being dispossessed and deprived thereof, upon a pretence of a Flaw in their Grant or Charter, whereby they hold their said Church : We have thought fit hereby to Signify unto you, and Accordingly our will and Pleasure is, That in case any Suit be already commenced, or shall hereafter be commenced against their said Charter, to ye prejudice of their said Church, or any of ye Rights or Revenues thereunto belonging, that you do not proceed definitively thereupon, until their said Charter, or an Authentic Copy thereof, together with ye whole state of ye matter be first transmitted hither, and laid before us in our Councill, And Our further Pleasure be thereupon signified unto You. And so we bid You heartily farewell.

"Given at Our Court at Hampton Court ye 27th day of January, 1700, in the Twelfth Year of our Reign.

"By His Maties Command,

"C. HEDGES."

¹ Records, i., 20.

² *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iv., 456-466.

Time was thus given to the Church to take proceedings for the protection of her rights, and the designs of her enemies were balked, though days of great trial were now near at hand.

The bad humor of the Earl appears to have increased through this rebuff; clearly he was in full sympathy with those engaged in the effort to break up the Church. Not content with general assaults upon her chartered rights, he manifested a particularly strong feeling against Mr. Vesey.

His intense dislike for the rector, whom he stigmatized as "a Jacobite," led him to absent himself from the Church, to the great satisfaction of the radicals and Dissenters. In the spring of 1699 he visited Boston, and attended service there in King's Chapel, but he also affected the Thursday lecture of the Congregationalists, and even joined with them in receiving their communion. To judge of this person's temper and conduct one should be familiar with his letters and correspondence. Thus, for example, he wrote from Boston in this violent strain against Mr. Vesey, whom he wished the Lords of Trade to displace :

"My Lieutenant Governor writes me that Vesey has left me out of his prayers, as Governour, and prays for Dellius by name, both in the Common Prayer and afterwards in the pulpit, desiring God to give him a prosperous voyage, to deliver him from the violence of his enemies and send him safe back again to his flock. This is such an insolence as I must desire your Lordships will please join with me to have this man deprived, for it cannot be thought that I will ever go to Church while that fellow continues Minister there."¹

He then goes on to inveigh at both Mr. Vesey and his father. He wrote in a similar vein to the Bishop of London.²

¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iv., 534.

² *Ibid.*, iv., 580.

It has been observed¹ that Governor Fletcher gave a lease of the King's Farm to the Church in 1697. Lord Bellomont appears to have been very much irritated at this, and left no stone unturned to deprive the Church of that privilege. He went so far as to get the Colonial Legislature to pass an Act, in 1699, vacating the grant, and providing that no future Governor should give a lease of the said farm for any longer period than his own term of office. The Act so far as it annulled the lease to Trinity Church was strongly opposed, and was carried only by Bellomont's casting vote. In justification of his course he makes the frivolous pretext that he needed the farm for a pasturage for a horse and cow of his own. On the subject of his animals he becomes exceedingly wrathful, and thus expresses himself :

"He [Fletcher] has granted away and held all the conveniences of a Gov^r here (vizt :) a Farm call'd the King's Farme he has given to the Church here, but 't is observable, his devotion did not carry him to do it till he heard I was certainly to superseed him ; part of that Farm, which is meadow ground and a scarce thing here, he sold to Captⁿ Evans, Commander of the Richmond Frigatt, a character of whom I have sent home by Mr. Weaver, in several depositions of his misbehaviour here ; part of the King's Garden too he has granted and sold to one Heathcote a Mercht. so that I am to be robbed of my conveniencys that is of a place where to keep a horse or cow for the use of my Family ; I shall think Fletcher has the best luck with his insolence and corruption that ever any Gov^r had." "

The Wardens and Vestry wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury on the subject of this raid on their property, under date of May 22, 1699. After paying a warm tribute to Governor Fletcher as "the principal promoter" of the Church, the growth and increase of which was much advanced by Mr. Vesey, "who by his good parts and bearing, exemplary life, and inoffensive Conversation gives a

¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iv., 327, 434 *et al.*

² *Ibid.*, iv. 327.

reputation to his function, and has brought many into the bosom of the Church," they proceed to speak of the "irreconcilable aversion" of Governor Bellomont to the "late governor Coll Fletcher, who gave birth to this Church," and they openly express the fear that Bellomont intends "nothing less than the destruction of this fair beginning." They then deny the statement that the farm had been given to the Church, and point out the unreasonableness of Bellomont's complaints about the lease, saying "it is not credible that such a trifle as Thirteen pounds per Annum, which is all the advantage can be made of it, can so much concern His Excellency, but a further design must be at the bottom, of which we have too many indications"; and they say, "We humbly lay this matter to your Gracious Consideration, earnestly beseeching your Grace, as we are part of that Church and Nation, over which God in a most eminent station has placed you, we may be safe under your protection, and that this hopeful foundation of an English Protestant Church in these parts of the world may receive no mischief from those whose duty obliges them to give it assistance and further its welfare."¹

Notwithstanding the violence with which the wind was now blowing outside, the parish was steadily increasing in strength. A gift of building-stone, probably from the Penrhyn quarries, by the Lord Bishop of Bristol, is mentioned²; and notably, a payment by Mr. Matthew Lang, a bachelor, of £5 10 s., towards his portion of "the bachelor's pew,"³ an interesting object, no doubt, in the eyes of more than one class in the congregation. A handsome present of books of divinity was received from the Lord Bishop of London, for the use of the parish, which books were catalogued and placed in charge of the rector.⁴ Dona-

¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iv., 527. ² *Records*, i., 32. ³ *Ibid.*, i., 34. ⁴ *Ibid.*, i., 26

tions to certain poor persons were made ; also an allowance to the sexton of " nine pence a quarter for Cleaning ye Church and pews from each Family, or person that is Single frequenting the Church and having a settled place to Sitt in the Church." Also, November 15, 1700, " Mr. Ellis does agree to build a handsome Gallery in the West end of the Church the South doore to the North according to a Draft thereof made by Mr. Evets, to furnish all Timber & Materials used by a joiner to build the pews therein, to make a pair of Stairs in the Steeple handsome & large to make the door from the Bellfree into the Gallery & to furnish this work against April or May next." ¹ This improvement was to cost one hundred and fifty pounds.

At this session, the last of the year 1700, it was agreed " that a letter be wrote to the Bishop of Winchester to desire his Charity to send us over the Ten Commandments & the Lord's Prayer & the Creed to be hung in the East End of the Church, while Mr. Wilson & Mr. Anderson do succeed in going about with ye plate on Sundays." ²

The fight between Bellomont and the Churchmen of New York was terminated in the month of March, 1701, on the fifth day of which month he died, under the stress of hard work and bitter controversy. His loss was loudly lamented by his adherents, who were fulsome in their eulogies, and declared that he had espoused their cause " with the generosity of an Irishman." He died in New York at the age of sixty-five, and was buried in the chapel of the fort with military honors. When the fort was removed in 1790, the leaden coffin which contained his remains was transferred to St. Paul's churchyard. It was Bellomont's misfortune to be brought into violent collision with eminent political leaders, many of whom

Records, i., 35.

² *Ibid.*, i., 36.

were promoters of the interests of the Church, and his gravest error to assail the newly formed Corporation and endeavor to despoil it of its endowments. He was one of those men who are at odds with themselves and lead their life in a standing inconsistency. A nobleman by birth and education, he appears to have been a democrat at heart. In America he found great landholders, men corresponding to his own order at home, men of ability and public spirit, managing their trusts with an average degree of good sense, and adding to the reputation and strength of the colony. He also found a Church establishment already taking the lead in promoting the interests of education and religion. Instead of strengthening these bulwarks of civil order, the Earl strove to subvert them. He would have cut down the great landholders, broken up their estates, and pared down the endowments of the Church. It was not to have been looked for in one of his class; it was earnestly resisted by the interests assailed, and the result was his defeat.

His relations to the Church some time before his death seem to have improved; a better state of feeling existed, brought about, it is believed, by the interposition of the Bishop of London. He wrote, October 19, 1700: "My Lord of London having writ to Mr. Vesey the English minister of this town to submit himself to me, and to me to accept his submission; I have complied therewith and have promised Mr. Vesey to become his friend, provided he demean himself peaceably and discreetly for the future." Probably the Earl put his own interpretation upon the matter. Mr. Vesey's representation of the case is not before us.

Upon the death of Bellomont things fell into confusion. The Lieutenant-Governor, Nanfan, was absent at Barbadoes; the executive chair was claimed by Col. William

Smith of Long Island, as, for the time being, the oldest member of the late Governor's Council. The strife between the Leislerians and the anti-Leislerians in New York was waged with fury. A few words, by way of review of the period between the execution of Leisler, 1691, and the death of Bellomont, 1701, will clear up the reader's impression of the situation of affairs. Leisler, when at the height of his power, struck hard blows at the men whom he most disliked and feared; among them were Col. Nicholas Bayard and Stephen Van Cortlandt. Bayard, Leisler's ranking officer and Mayor of the City, was thrown into prison, and kept there fourteen months; Van Cortlandt escaped by flight. On the downfall of Leisler, these men emerged, and came to the top; Governor Sloughter, as might have been expected, made up his Council exclusively of men who had opposed Leisler, although by appointing a Leislerian sympathizer, Abraham de Peyster, Mayor of the City, he preserved a measure of tranquillity. New York contained at that time about 5000 people, divided into Leislerians and anti-Leislerians. The latter included the aristocracy, the Church and State men, and the maintainers of the royal prerogative; the former represented the democracy of the period, and included Dutch Calvinists, who lamented the waning of the influence of their religion, and English Dissenters, who hated the Established Church, and were radical in politics.

The anti-Leislerians, coming into power under Governor Sloughter, retained their advantage during the administration of Fletcher.¹ But a change occurred on the arrival of Bellomont, whose appointment, as has been ob-

¹ Among his Council were Col. Caleb Heathcote, Frederick Philipse, Stephen Van Cortlandt, William Nicholls, and Thomas Willett; his five Supreme Court Judges were Thomas Johnson, William Smith, Stephen Van Cortlandt, William Pinhorn, and the Mayor was William Merritt. All these were of the aristocratic and government party.

served, was due to the efforts of persons in England desirous of procuring a reversal of the sentence of attainder on Leisler and the restoration of his confiscated property to his descendants. Bayard, Philipse, and Van Cortlandt, with their friends, withdrew, and a new set of men took their place.¹ Moreover, the Leislerians, in their delight, tore down Fletcher's coat-of-arms in the King's Chapel in the Fort, and, taking up the bones of Leisler, carried them to the Dutch church, where they lay in state awhile, and then received a pompous burial.

To come now to the present point in our story, the triumph of the Leisler party was promoted by the interregnum ensuing on the death of Bellomont. Lord Nanfan, the brother-in-law of the late Earl, did nothing to restrain their excesses; and, as was natural, their wrath strove to break itself on Bayard, still one of the most conspicuous figures of the day. Nanfan arrested him and put him on trial for his life, before Chief Justice Atwood, the "Jefferies" of the province. The younger Leisler, by whose influence the reversal of the judgment against the elder Leisler and the cancellation of the attainder had been procured from Parliament, was active in the agitation which nearly cost Bayard his life. That brave and distinguished man, arrested January 21, 1702, on a charge of high treason, was found guilty and condemned to death.² Mr.

¹ Among the Leislerians we find the names of Thomas Noell, Abraham and Johannes de Peyster, Isaac de Riemer, Abraham Brazier, Nicholas Roosevelt, and Peter W. Roome; among the anti-Leislerians those of Robert Livingston, Robert Lurting, Philip French, Brandt Schuyler, John Hutchings, William Morris, Nicholas Bayard, Frederick Philipse, Stephen Van Cortlandt, Gabriel Meriville, Caleb Heathcote, Chudley Brooke, Thomas Willett, William Nicholls, John Young, Joseph Dudley, William Pinhorne, William Merritt, Thomas Johnson, and William Smith. Many of these names appear on the list of Vestrymen of Trinity Church, and all, no doubt, went through fire and water amidst the agitations of those days.

² The proceedings of the court are admitted, even by writers conspicuous for their partisan prejudices, to have been totally unjustifiable. See, *e.g.*, Dunlap's *History of New York*, vol. i., 249.

Emott did his best to defend him, but in vain ; the end had been resolved on before the trial began, and on the 16th of March, Atwood pronounced the horrible sentence then customary upon traitors.¹ Most fortunately for the prisoner, and notwithstanding the eagerness of the court to have their revenge, a reprieve was granted to learn the King's pleasure. Ere the time had expired, the scene changed. A new Governor arrived, in the person of Lord Cornbury. Nanfan was superseded ; and the infamous Atwood, with his colleague, Attorney-General Weaver, took refuge in precipitate flight, and vanished from the scene of their outrageous violation of law and justice.

This unpleasant history bears directly upon the annals of the parish, because the rector was the object of con-

¹ Sentence was passed Monday, March 16, 1702, and the meeting was held on Sunday 22d, if held at all. The sentence was as follows : " that you be carried to the place from whence you came, that from thence you be drawn upon a Hurdle to the Place of Execution, that there you be hanged by the Neck, and being alive you be cut down upon the Earth, and that your Bowels be taken out of your Belly, and your Privy Members be cut, and you being alive, they be burnt before your Face ; and that your head be cut off, and that your Body be divided into four Quarters ; and that your Head and Quarters be placed where our Lord the King shall assign. And the Lord have mercy on your Soul."—The *Tryal and Condemnation of Nicholas Bayard, Esq.*, New York, 1707, p. 26 ; the pamphlet contains other documents ; printed by Bradford, a member of Trinity Parish ; a very rare volume.

We may here call attention to the letter of Samuel Bayard, son of Nicholas, dated January 27, 1702, which throws light upon the subject of addresses in general, showing that the father was then in jail awaiting prosecution for his connection with three addresses, severally to the King, Parliament, and Lord Cornbury, " to be presented to him at his arrivall," but the writer says, " discovery whereof being made a considerable time after the compleating, the Clerk & Messinger of the Councill had continually for several days Imploy to bring all sorts of persons, before the Councill, whereof some by promises of Rewards, others by threats of Imprisonment, Clipping of eares, &c. were prevailed upon to sware agst the ritoers [writers] of [them] whereupon father myself and Captⁿ Hutchings were summoned before the Councill and the two first bound over each in 1,500 pounds Recognizance to answer to an Indictment to be filed agst us in the Supreme Court, and the latter sent to prison for not complying with the order of Councill of the 16th inst."

The father himself wrote from the jail, saying that " The said addresses were signed by most all the Chief merchts and Principal Inhabitants that are in opposition against the Leislerian partye And wee had for soe doing the best advice and Councill of the experienced Lawyers we have amongst us."—*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iv., 945-6-7.

tinued vulgar and brutal assaults by Atwood, as well as the strenuous defender of Colonel Bayard, not only as his friend, but also in sermons from the pulpit of Trinity. "We will not give Mr. Vesey an opportunity for another sermon against us," cried Atwood, when requested to delay the trial, March 6th, till the next morning. They who desire further information on the subject may gather it from a pamphlet entitled *The Case of William Atwood*.¹ Some idea of the partisan nature of this brochure may be drawn from Atwood's opening statement, that when the Revolution in England was accomplished, dispossessing James, and placing William upon the throne, the people in New York "proffered *Bayard*, a cunning *Dutchman*, the Honor of Heading them; But he, being desirous to have the Power continue in the Adherents to Popery, was only for turning out the *Profess'd Papists*; And such artifice to keep the government for and under King James, his Agents absurdly labour to pass for a Design to *forward the Revolution*." His treatment of Mr. Vesey, in connection with which he employs a great deal of suppressed irony, might be turned to serve the purpose of deserved eulogy. He says of the rector that "he was never good at keeping a secret"; refers to his "noted sincerity," and being "full of his own praises," and, apparently in a moment of forgetfulness, refers to him as a member of that Church "in which he was bred," though elsewhere he revives the old slanders about Mr. Vesey as having been educated among the Dissenters, and a rene-

¹ " *The Case of William Atwood, Esq.* By the Late King William of Glorious Memory, Constituted *Chief Justice of the Province of New York in America, and Judge of the Admiralty there and in Neighboring Colonies*. With a True Account of the Government and People of that Province; particularly of *Bayard's* Faction, and Treason for which he and *Hutchins* Stand Attainted; but Reprived before Lord *Cornbury's* Arrival, upon Acknowledging their Offenses, and begging Pardon. London; Printed in the year MDCCIII." This work has been reprinted by the New York Historical Society in its Collections for the year 1880, p. 237.

gade from their cause, slanders of which the complete refutation has already been given.

He speaks of his school-boy's memory, his heated fancy, and his talent for invective ; accuses him of temporizing and deceitful conduct, and says that the rector, "not trusting to the *Church Weapons of Prayers and tears*, conjured up *Hell-fire* against those who *sent their Brethren to Prison* ; nor did legal Proceeding escape the Name of the highest Injustice. As a key to such, his *Preachments*, he in discourse with the L. Governor, declared 't was better with the English in *King James's* Reign than in *King William's* ; 'but,' says he, 'this *Dutch King won't live always*.' "

It is unnecessary to continue the subject ; enough has been said about this abusive pamphlet, which, however, is of value, as casting a clear light on the character and temper of its author.

A letter from Mr. Vesey to the Governor of Virginia, under date of June 9, 1702, throws light on the troubles and trials of Churchmen at that day.

" May it please your Excellency :

" In a letter from the Jerseys, your Excellency was informed of the grievous oppression of our Church and Province, which, if not redressed by my Lord Cornbury's arrival might have ended in our Ruine. The management of the Lieut.-Governor and Council, even till then, was extraordinary, arbitrary, and violent, and if in print represented with all its circumstances to the world, must astonish an ordinary impiety and beget indignation and abhorrence in all those who have not cast off the common sentiments of Humanity. Your Excellency, by Col. Bayard's printed tryall and some manuscripts, will be fully convict of those unrighteous and barbarous measures which were taken to exterpate an English Church and interest out of this Province. I doubt not but my Lord will be a Father to our Church and Province, and those methods his Lordship does daily take, give us repeated assurances of his impartial administration, and are joyful presages that Justice will flow down our streets as a mighty Streame and righteousness as ■ flood.

"I have by these ships received 4 letters from my very good Lord of London full of zeal and affections. His Lordship does now assure us six good men shall be sent to supply the vacant liveings in our Province, and also that communion plate, furniture and Bookes shall in a short time be obtained for us.

"His Reverence Dr. Bray¹ advised me to enter into a Society with the Dutch and French ministers of this city, to consult on the most proper methods to effect a Reformation: accordingly an happy Society is maintained, in the Church Library, which, I hope, by our Governor's assistance will in some measure answer the end. His Reverence, among other good things, informs me that he has writt to your Excellency to appoint a meeting of the Clergy at New York as being the center between Maryland and Virginia. I question not but in a few years we shall have such a number of clergymen in New York, the Jerseys and Philadelphia, as will make a meeting among ourselves very formidable.

"Our church daily increases, and in a very wonderful manner. My Lord has ordered his chaplain, Mr. Mott, and Mr. Bresack, to preach in our church one part of the day. We have prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays, and catechising every Sunday in the afternoon Mr. Huddleston, the schoolmaster, brings all his schollars to church in order, and those I have formed, with many others, into 3 distinct classes, according to Dr. Bray's proposal, by which means I hope to compose the most glorious church in America. I beg your Excellency to recommend me to our Governor's favor and countenance. May God ever bless, prosper and make you Great and Glorious forever is the prayer of your dutifull

"And much obliged servant,

"WM. VESEY."²

¹ The Rev. Dr. Thomas Bray was sent to Maryland in 1696 as Commissary of the Bishop of London. He was particularly urgent about sending out books to America, and mentions in a sermon preached in London in 1699, on the subject of "Apostolic Charity," that there was in New York Colony a church in the fort with a minister and a library, and in the city a church and a minister, but no library. It would appear from this that the first library in New York was sent out from England for the use of the chaplain and soldiers of his Majesty's service. In 1767 the library in the fort contained 211 volumes.

² N. Y. Genl. Conv. MSS., vol. i., pp. 14, 15.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF LORD CORNBURY.

Relief of Churchmen on Cornbury's Arrival—Address to him by the Rector and Corporation of Trinity—His Commission and Instructions—Rev. George Keith in New York—Convention of Clergy, November, 1702—Movement in Favor of Collegiate Education—Society for the Propagation of the Gospel—Proposals to Erect an Organ—William Bradford, Printer and Vestryman of Trinity—Elias Neau, his History, Labors, and Conversion to the Church—Madam Knight's Account of the City and Vicinity—Rev. George Muirson—The Queen's Farm Becomes the Property of the Church—Labors among the Negroes—Lady Cornbury's Death—Sermon by Rev. John Sharpe—Rev. James Honeyman—Trinity the Foster Mother of Other Churches—Disgraceful Close of Cornbury's Administration.

EDWARD HYDE, Lord Cornbury, was appointed successor to the Earl of Bellomont, June 13, 1701. On the 9th of September he received his commission under the Great Seal¹; but it was not until May 3, 1702, that he arrived in his government.² The clergy regarded his arrival as a great deliverance; and no wonder, considering the reign of terror which he found here. Letters are extant, from the Rev. John Bartow and other missionaries of the Venerable Society, graphically depicting the perils of the Church under the administration of Bellomont and Nanfan, and hailing the arrival of the new Governor as an auspicious event.³

An election for Church Wardens and Vestrymen was held April 7, 1702, only nine members being present;

¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iv., 883-4, 1152.

² Cornbury himself fixes the day; writing May 3, 1702, he speaks of "being arrived here this day."—*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iv., 955.

³ Bolton, *History of the Church in Westchester County*, Introduction, xviii.

among those absent were the rector and Warden Wenham.¹ The minutes at this period are meagre. Apparently a number of the parish officials and their friends were in exile in the province of New Jersey, where, beyond the reach of the ferocious Atwood, they had been expecting the arrival of the new Governor. There is no doubt that prominent members of the parish were in imminent danger, and that their lives would have been worth little had Nanfan and Atwood continued in power. Atwood's own writings show this, and from his statements a just idea may be formed of the peril in which Churchmen and peaceful citizens stood at that crisis.²

Upon the arrival of Lord Cornbury, May 3, 1702, he was met by the rector and other notable citizens, who landed with him at the Battery. The Wardens and Vestrymen welcomed him with an address which seems to have been prepared the previous year. It is in the style characteristic of the period, though in this case they had good reason to speak strongly.

They say that with "hearts full of Charity & exuberant with Joy," they "congratulate yor Lordps safe & happy arrival in this province wth yor worthy lady & Family." They then go on to speak of "the just fears wch We had conceiv'd under ye late administraction of ye Predecessor and ye great hopes & Confidence we perced in yor Lodps Friendship for our Church and righteous cause." They also express their thankfulness to the King for "his Royal Letter of Protection to our Infant Church, to which was superadded our sence of that Special and signal favor of sending your

¹ The following is the list of officers elected: Thomas Wenham and Richard Willett, Wardens. The Vestrymen were William Morris, James Emott, William Huddleston, John Croke, Lancaster Squires, Ebenezer Wilson, Thomas Ives Rob, William Anderson, Robert Skelton, John Corbett, Robert Lurting, Jeremiah Tothill, William Janeway, David Jamison, William Peartree, William Smith, Lettice Hopper, John Theobald, Matthew Clarkson, John Tudor.

² See *Coll. N. Y. Hist. Soc.*, 1880, 282-4.

Lordp to be a healer & restorer amongst us, but as it needs appear'd to us to be the opening of a Doore of hope so to those who were contriving to raise our very foundation, it caused a bitterness & overflowing of the Gall who not only Laboured to diswade the People from their hopes of seeing yor Lordp, but raised a terrable & Violent persecution against our Minister & most of the Members & frequenters of our Church on Accot of Signing an Address to your Lordp & other Addresses, the Contents of them being still to them unknown altho some are Innocently Condemned to dye as Traitors, some outlaw'd & others forc'd to flye this Province & all put in Terrour on that accot, by a wicked, pernicious, perverse & strain'd Construction of an Act of Assembly of this Province made by Mr. Atwood & Mr. Weaver, who were the principal movers & managers of this disturbance & violators of the peace not only of our Church but of all the principal English, French & Dutch Protestant Inhabitants of his Maty's Province."

They add that :

"The Enemy's of our peace being dissolute in principle as well as immoral in their Lives & Conversation made their study falsely & maliciously to slander our Minister as well as others with ye Character of Jacobitism & dissatisfaction to his Matys Sacred person & the Laws & Government of England, & had like to have broke that hedge wch his Maty had most graciously placed about us, but yor Lordps happy & Auspicious Arrival like ye Sun after morning darkness will dispel all those clouds & raise up our heads & hearts."

In conclusion, they assure the Governor of their willingness "with our lives & Fortunes" to support and maintain correct principles as against "all his Matys enemy's whosoever & ye enemy's of ye true Protestant interest."¹

The address of the Wardens and Vestry to the Governor may be accepted without reserve as a refutation of the charges of disloyalty to Protestant interests raised by Atwood against Mr. Vesey and his friends. The rector himself, no doubt, suffered for the opinions of his father, a known Jacobite, as the Massachusetts records prove; but he clearly took much pains to set himself and the par-

¹ Records, i., 38.

ish right with the incoming administration. That Mr. Vesey had the confidence of the Governor, is clear from Atwood's own "Case," in which, from his secure place of refuge, he complains of Cornbury, saying: "He not only countenanced the *Minister* in Preaching against the last *Administration* as a time of *Persecution*, and crying up his *Lordship* as a *Moses*, who had delivered them from their *Egyptian Bondage*; but," could one believe it, "his Lordship" countenanced Jamison in calling Atwood a "Villain."¹ He might very truthfully have styled him a *Jeffries*.

Atwood's wrathful expressions, which were put upon paper after he fled to England, did not avail. Mr. Vesey had the right upon his side, and daily strengthened his position. Notwithstanding the turmoil of the times, he steadily grew from year to year in the estimation of the people.

Lord Cornbury received from Queen Anne a commission and two sets of instructions. Neither the commission nor the instructions have been printed, nor do any copies exist in this country. Curiously enough, however, the originals have found their way hither, and are now in possession of a private individual. They are fortunately in good state of preservation. The commission is written in old English text, on two large sheets of parchment, with handsomely engraved borders, and bearing the portrait of the Queen. It is dated December 5, 1702, and is hard to decipher. It contains the following important provision respecting the Church:

"Wee do by these present authorize and impower you to collate any pron or prons to any Churches or Chapells, or other ecclesiastical benefices within our said province or dependencies aforesaid, as often as that any of them shall happen to be void."

¹ *Coll. N. Y. Hist. Soc.*, 1880, 286.

The instructions are in a plain hand, on ordinary fools-cap, and contained in a strong leathern case which appears to be original ; the Queen's large cramped autograph is at the head. Those parts which relate to Church affairs are as follows :

Instructions for Edward Hyde, Esqr., commonly called Lord Cornbury (son and Heir apparent to ye Earl of Clarendon) Our Captaine Generale and Governor in Chief of Our Province of New York and the Territorys depending thereon in America.

ANNE R Given at our Court of St. James's the 29 day of January 170 $\frac{2}{3}$ in the first year of our Reigne.

1. With these our Instructions you will receive Our Commission under Our Great Seal of England constituting you our Captaine Generall and Governor in Chief of Our Province of New York and Territorys depending thereon in America.

2. You are to take upon you the execution of the place and Trust Wee have reposed in you, and forwith to call together the members of Our Council for that Province, by Name William Smith Peter Schuyler Samson Shelton Broughton, Wolfgang William Romer William Lawrence, Gerardus Beekman Rip Van Dam, John Bridges, Caleb Heathcote, Thomas Wenham, Mathew Ling, Killian Van Ranslaer, Esqrs.

3. And you are with all due and usual solemnity to cause Our Said Commission under Our Great Seal of England constituting you Our Captain Generall and Governor in Chief as aforesaid to be read and published at the said meeting of Our Councill.

4. Which being done, you shall yourself take and also administer unto each of the Members of Our Said Council as well the Oaths appointed by act of Parliament to be taken instead of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy and the oath mentioned in an Act Entitled An Act to declare the alteration in the oath appointed to be taken by the Act Entitled an Act for the further security of his Matys. person and the Succession of the Crown in the protestant Line, and for extinguishing the hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales and all other pretenders and their open and secrett abettors, and for declaring the Association to be determined as also the test mentioned in an Act of Parliament made in the 25 years of the reigne of King Charles the second entitled an Act for preventing dangers which may happen from Popish Recusants, together with an oath for the due execution of your

and their places and Trusts, as well with regard to the equal and impartial administration of justice in all causes that shall come before you as otherwise and likewise the Oath required to be taken by Governors of Plantations to do their utmost that the laws relating to the Plantations be observed.

60. You shall take especiall care that God Almighty be devoutly and duly served throughout youre Government, the Book of Common prayer as by Law established, read each Sunday and Holy-day, and the blessed Sacrament administered according to the rites of the Church of England, you shall be carefull that the Churches already built there be well and orderly kept, and that more be built as the Colony shall by God's blessing be improved, and that besides a competent maintenance to be assigned to the Minister of each Orthodox Church, a convenient house be built at the Common Charge for each Minister, and a competent proportion of Land assigned him for a Glebe and exercise of his Industry, and you are to take care that the parishes be so limited and settled, as you shall find most convenient for the accomplishing this good work.

61. You are not to prefer any Minister to any Ecclesiasticall Benefice in that Our Province without a certificate from the right reverend Father in God the Bishop of London, of his being conformable to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England and of a good life and conversation, and if any person preferred already to a benefice appear to you to give scandall, either by his doctrine or Manners, you are to use the best means for the removal of him, and to supply the vacancy in such manner as we have directed.

62. You are to give order forthwith (if the same be not already done) that every Orthodox Minister within your Government be one of the Vestry in his respective parish, and that no vestry be held without him, except in case of sickness, or that after notice of vestry he will not come.

63. You are to inquire whether there be any Minister within your Government, who preaches and administers the Sacraments in any Orthodox Church or Chappell without being in due orders, and to give an account thereof to the said Bishop of London.

64. And to the end of the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the said Bishop of London may take place in your province so farr as conveniently may be, Wee do think fitt, that you give all continuance and encouragement to the exercise of the same, Excepting to the

Collating to Benefices, granting Lycenceses for Marriages, and probate of Wills, which we have reserved to our Governour and to the Commander in Chief of our said Province for the time being.

65. Wee do further direct that no schoolmaster be henceforth permitted to come from England and to keep schoole within Our Province of New York, without th Lycense of th said Bishop of London, and that no other person now there, or that shall come from other ports, be admitted to keep School without your Lycense, first obtained.

66. And you are to make especial care that a Table of Marriages, established by th Canons of th Church of England to be hung up in every Orthodox Church & duly observed, and you are to endeavor to get a law past in th Assembly of that Provinc (if not already done) for th strict observance of th said Table.

67. You are to take care that Drunkenness and debauchery Swearing and blasphemy be discountenanced & punished; and for th further discountenance of Vice & encouragement of Virtue and good living (that by such examples ye Infidels may be invited and desire to partake of th Christian Religion) You are not to admit any person to publick Trust and Employments, whose ill fame and conversation may occasion Scandall.

Lord Cornbury soon settled all questions respecting the late sovereign. He writes under date of June 23, 1702 :

"On Thursday the 18th instant having drawn out the forces there I did in the presence of the gentlemen of her Majesty's Council attended by the Mayor Aldermen and Common Council the Clergy and I think I may say all the Gentlemen and Merchants of the City of New York cause Her Majesty to be proclaimed Queen of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the faith, Supream Lady of the Province of New York and Plantations of the same according to the directions I had received from the Lords of her Majestys Most Hon^{ble} Privy Council." In the same letter he adds that the people have "suffered great hardships and wrongs through the wicked practices of Mr. Atwood and Mr. Weaver, who have made the divisions among the people of New York much greater than ever they were and would have made them past cure had they gone on a little longer"¹; all of which formed a fair vindication of the parish.

¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iv., 960. His reasons for suspending Atwood, Weaver, De Peyster, Walters, and Staats are given in same volume, pp. 1012-14-17. The confirmation of his action by the Council occurs on pp. 1026-81.

Returning to the parish records, we find the Wardens and Vestry quietly at work looking after the interests of the Church, the business being conducted with the usual order, so that no one would suspect the danger to which a number of the Board had been subjected under the reign of Chief Justice Atwood and his political friends.

The grant of a lease of the King's Farm to the Church by Governor Fletcher, and the annulling of that lease by Bellomont, have been already mentioned. Lord Cornbury now renewed the lease, in 1702, but only during his term of office, at an annual rental of sixty bushels of wheat. At a meeting of the Vestry held August 6, 1702,

"Mr. Vesey & Mr. Wenham Reported that Mr. Clarkson dec'd one of the Tennants of the King's Farme before his death & after the granting of a new Lease from the Right Honble Edward Lord Viscount Cornbury did relinquish his right & interest in the lease thereof to the Church. Capt. Wilson, in consideration of a peece of Plate to be given him by the Corporation of Trinity Church within twelve months next ensuing doth surrender his Interest & right in the said lease for the farme to come to the Church & bears the charges he has bene at in defending & maintaining the Churche's right thereto." Also :

"It is agreed by this Board that George Ryders have the Farme the remaining part of the year till the first of May next, that he shall have liberty to take off his Winter & Summer Grain provided he plant no Indian Corne next spring therein, that he sew no more summer grain next spring than winter grain, that he commit not any waste, leave the Fences in repair & good order, he paying for the same the sum of thirty-five pounds to the Church Wardens for the use of the Church."

It will be observed that it was not without opposition that Trinity Church procured even a short lease of the farm. Its first lease in 1697 for seven years was vacated by the Colonial Legislature ; its second lease in 1701 ran only during the Governor's term. It will presently be

seen that before the lease expired, the Farm became the property of the Church.

About this time the Rev. George Keith, formerly a member of the Society of Friends, came over as a missionary of the Propagation Society, accompanied by Talbot and Gordon. No doubt the people had been prepared for the church by the labors of the Rev. Mr. Vesey. Keith everywhere created a strong impression, and, in his Journal, he says that he preached in the afternoon of September 27th, at Hempstead, when the church would not hold the people who stood around the doors and windows to hear. They were generally well affected, "and greatly desired that a Church of *England* minister should be settled among them." Keith states in his Journal (Sept. 30th) that at this period special services were being held in Trinity Church: "At the Request of Mr. *Vesey*, the Minister at *New York*, I preached at the Weekly Fast, which was appointed by the Government, by reason of the great Mortality that was then at *New York*, where above *Five Hundred* died in the Space of a few weeks; and that very Week, about *Seventy* died. My Text was, James 5, 13."¹

At this period the Rev. Mr. Bartow, a missionary of the Venerable Society, established himself at Westchester and began the work that has continued to the present day.

In 1702 England declared war against France and Spain. The contest was prolonged till 1713; during that time, and subsequently, until the close of the American

¹ *Journal of Travels from New Hampshire to Caratuck on the Continent of North America.* By George Keith, M. A., Late Missionary from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; and now Rector of Edburton, in Sussex, London. Printed by Joseph Downing, for Brob. Aylmer at the Three-Pigeons over against the Royal Exchange in Corn hill, 1706 (p. 30). See Coll. P. E. Hist. Soc., 1851, p. 1.

Revolution, Canada formed the objective point of the English. The route thither lay through New York, by the Hudson River, Lake George, and Lake Champlain; a route which had been known to explorers from a very early period. The French and English kept up a continual strife for the possession of that natural and almost complete water-way, and when the American Revolution broke out, the same struggle was continued between the English and the Provincials.¹

Very early in the history of our parish, as appears from the foregoing letter of Mr. Vesey's already given, need was felt of joint action on the part of the clergy of New York and its vicinity, for the extension of the influence of the Church and the promotion of her cause in the province. Nicholson, Governor of Virginia, did much to further this design; at his call, seven of the clergy met in the City of New York in the month of November, 1702, and held a kind of convention there. The persons present were the Rev. John Talbot, the Rev. John Bartow, the Rev. George Keith, the Rev. Alexander Innes, the Rev. Edmond Mott, the Rev. Evan Evans, and the Rev. Mr. Vesey. Governor Nicholson gave £25 towards defraying the charges of the meeting. The council lasted a week, and measures were discussed and devised for propagating the Gospel in the provinces. Great stress was laid on the need of Episcopal services, and an earnest wish was expressed that a suffragan might be sent out from England; a statement of the condition of the Church was also prepared to send home, with a view to enforce what was, at that early day, the strongest desire of our mission clergy. This statement gives an account of the state of the Church in North America and was drawn up and signed by these

¹ See the military history connected with this route in *Lake George, its Scenes and Characteristics*, by B. F. Da Costa, chaps. vi. and vii.

seven clergy.¹ Their prayer fell on listless ears, and they were left to work on without a head.²

November 15th Mr. Keith was again in town ; he says : " I preached at *New York*, on *Revel.* 3, 20, being Sacrament-Day." On the following Sunday, he "preached again at *New York*, on *Rom.* 6, 17, 18 in the Forenoon, and Mr. Talbot in the Afternoon," adding, "My Lord *Cornbury*, Governor of *New York* and the *Jerseys*, was very kind to us, and at his Invitation, we did eat at his Table both Sundays and other Times."³ In writing to the Society Keith says :

"My Lord *Cornbury* invited us to dine with him at Fort Henry, as accordingly we did after Sermon. . . . There is a brave congregation of people belonging to the Church here, as well as a very fine fabric of a church, and the Rev. Mr. Vesey very much esteemed and loved for his ministry and good life, and the like I can say of all the other ministers of the Church, where I have travelled, as at Boston, at Rhode Island and Philadelphia." *

1702. This year the Bishop of London applied to the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, asking them to provide a house for Mr. Vesey and that they would please :

1st. To take into consideration the twenty-six pounds allowed annually by his late Majesty for and towards the providing of an house for the Minister of Trinity Church in New York to dwell in, in order to the continuance of it.

2d. That whereas an hundred and ten acres in the County of Worcester in the said province of New York have been escheated to the Queen by the death of one Thomas Williams, their Lordship's payments would be for the set-

¹ It can be found in the *Coll. P. E. Hist. Soc.*, 1851, pp. xv. to xxi. See also p. 33.

² *Coll. P. E. Hist. Soc.*, xxxiii., letter of Rev. Mr. Bartow of Nov. 4, 1702, to Mr. Whitefield, N. Y. Genl. Con. MSS.

³ *Coll. P. E. Hist. Soc.*, p. 33.

⁴ *N. Y. Doc. His.*, iii., 25.

ting of them upon the Church, in the said county, the better to provide for a subsistence of a Minister.¹

There is no further record of parochial affairs until February 19, 1703, when,

"It being moved which way the King's Farme which is now vested in Trinity Church should be let to Farm. It was unanimously agreed that the Rector and Church Wardens should wait upon my Lord Cornbury, th Govr to Know what part thereof his Lordp did design towards the Colledge which his Lordp designs to have built and thereupon to publish Placards for the Letting thereof at the public outcry to the highest bidder."²

This appears to be the beginning of a movement which culminated in the founding of what is now Columbia College, in 1754. Cornbury, with all his faults, saw the necessity which existed for a school of learning like that ultimately established, and deserves grateful remembrance in this particular connection, though it will be observed that Colonel Morris suggested that the Farm should be acquired by the Propagation Society.

This reference to the King's Farm brings up once more a subject of great importance to the church, on which it now appears to be in order to make a full statement. The reader has already noted the sale of that piece of land by the heirs of Anneke Jans, under the provision of her will in 1670, to Governor Lovelace; the transfer of the property to the Duke of York; its grant to the Colo-

¹ N. Y. General Convention MSS., i., 5.

² Records, i., 43. At this period we find Morris joining with Heathcote in advocating the founding of a college. Morris writes: "The Queen has a farm of about 32 acres of Land which rents for £36 p. ann: tho the Church Wardens have petitioned for it, & my Ld four months since gave yu promise of it the Proceedings has been so slow that they begin to fear the success wont answer to the expectation. I believe her Maty would readily grant it to the Society for the asking—N. York is the centre of English America & an appropriate place for a colledge, & that Farme in a little time would be of considerable value, & it is a pity such a thing should be lost for want of asking, which at another time wont be so easily obtained," *Archives, S. P. G.*, i., 171.

nial Governors by the Crown as a perquisite of their office ; the lease of the Farm to Trinity Church by Governor Fletcher ; the annulling of that lease by Governor Bello-mont ; the renewal of the said lease to the Church by Lord Cornbury. On the 27th of June, 1704, an Act was passed "granting certain privileges and power to the Rector and inhabitants of the City of New York of the communion of the Church of England as by law established," among which privileges was that of holding lands, tenements, etc., and of leasing, demising, and improving the same to the benefit of the Church and other pious uses.

Under the provision of that Act, and upon the recommendation of the Governor, the Farm was given to the Church in fee, by royal patent, November 20, 1705, and has been in its possession to the present day.¹

In view of subsequent agitation on the subject of this grant ; of the statement that the Farm was violently taken by a powerful ecclesiastical corporation from its rightful owners, and is still held adversely to their rights ; of the amazing popular delusion that the heirs of Anneke Jans were wrongly dispossessed of their property, and that their descendants, or persons claiming to be such, have a legal and equitable right to the property to-day ; and of other wild ideas on this subject which are still giving designing and dishonest persons occasion to delude the ignorant and obtain money under false pretences—it seems desirable that the reader should have a full account of the matter from the beginning ; and this appears to be the proper point at which to give him that information. It is necessary to go back to a date thirty-four years before the parish of Trinity Church came into existence.

¹ See Letter of Mr. Vesey to Gov. Fletcher, *Hist. American Church*, i., 172 ; also Murray Hoffman's *Ecclesiastical Law in the State of New York*, Appendix, 298-302.

In the days when New Amsterdam was a Dutch colony, there lived in it a woman of humble origin whose name was Anneke Jans. She was the wife of one Roeloff, manager for Adrian Van Rensselaer, the first Patroon of the great Manor at Beverwyck, near Albany. To her and her husband was made a grant of a farm of about sixty-two acres on Manhattan Island, afterwards known as the Anneke Jans Farm, and later as the Domine's Bouwery.

Roeloff died, leaving three daughters and one son. In 1638, his widow married the Rev. Everardus Bogardus, a Dutch minister who had been sent out from Holland five years before as clergyman for the colony. Bogardus, on a voyage home in 1647, was lost at sea; he left four children, and his widow removed to Albany, where she died in 1663. She made a will, which is on record, directing that the farm on Manhattan Island should be sold, and providing for the disposition of the proceeds of the sale, chiefly in favor of the four children of her first husband. This, accordingly, was done, and the farm was bought by the English Governor of the province, Francis Lovelace, the deed of sale being duly recorded. It will be observed that this sale of the Anneke Jans Farm was made thirty-four years before Trinity Church came into existence. By the deed the interests of all the heirs and devisees were duly conveyed; and there can be no reasonable doubt of the validity of the sale.

There is no evidence whatever that for a period of sixty-eight years after the sale of the Farm to Lovelace, any dissent was made on the part of any member of the family of Anneke Jans Bogardus from the propriety and legality of the sale. So far as any evidence has been found, no attempt was made by any of them to claim the property; nor was any attack set on foot against the title of any occupant of the property until after the death of all

the original parties to the transaction, whose knowledge of its details would have prevented such an attack. During all that period, the heirs of Anneke Jans were resident in New York, and the Farm was a well-known piece of property, familiar to the residents of the growing colony, claimed by owners not of the Roeloff or Bogardus connection, and occupied and cultivated by their tenants, who paid rent regularly for its use. If there had been any claim to the Farm on the part of the descendants of the original possessor, it would long before have been barred by the statute of limitations: but there was no such claim, either to the rent of the Farm paid by its occupants, or to the ownership or possession of it, until all the daughters of Anneke Jans Bogardus were dead, and their husbands were dead, and all the sons of Bogardus were dead, and Mrs. Rombout, the widow of the first Cornelius and mother of the second Cornelius, was dead, and the second Cornelius himself was dead. They had sold it once; they never attempted to sell it again; never mentioned it in any will; never tried to borrow money on it; never disturbed the persons who lived upon it. The conclusion is irresistible that the heirs had no rights to assert. The first appeal to the courts upon the part of the descendants of Anneke Jans in respect to her farm was made some thirty years after the death of her last surviving child.

It has been stated that the Farm was sold to Governor Lovelace under the provision of the will. He lost it after the peace between England and Holland in 1674, when the colony finally reverted to the English. Lovelace was in disgrace, on account of his failure to prevent the surrender of the town to the Dutch; he appears to have been heavily in debt to the proprietor, the Duke of York, and all his property passed into possession of the Duke.

Its rental, which was of small value, became, with the Duke's approval, a perquisite of the English Governor, and finally the property of the Crown ; the same tenant who had occupied under Lovelace was in undisturbed possession for twenty-seven years. In 1697, Governor Fletcher, deeply interested in the progress of the Church in the province, waived his claim to the rental of the Farm and leased it to those persons, styled the "Managers of the Church of England," who were engaged in an effort to found and build a church in the City of New York. The same tenant continuing in possession, a grant of the property was finally made to Trinity Church by Queen Anne, in 1705. This history explodes the notion industriously circulated long afterwards, and even now held, that the Anneke Jans heirs were kept out of their rights by a rich and powerful ecclesiastical corporation, whereas no such corporation was in existence until thirty-four years after her death.

The title of the Church came then from the Crown of Great Britain. It was unaffected by the changes effected by the American Revolution. After the acknowledgment of the independence of the Colonies, an Act was passed in the Legislature of New York, confirming all the titles acquired prior to that time in the colonial period.

After the death of all the Bogardus family of the first generation, some of their descendants set up a claim to the property, and since 1746 numerous proceedings have been taken by persons claiming as descendants of Anneke Jans, and in every form which legal ingenuity could suggest, to enforce their supposed claims. In these various proceedings the title of the Church has been uniformly sustained.

The notion that Trinity Church has wilfully wronged the heirs, obtaining possession of their property by unfair means, is quite as preposterous as any other of the hallucinations on this subject.

"The children of Mrs. Bogardus parted with their title by actual sale and conveyance to the English Governor shortly after her death ; if by reason of any informalities in the transfer they ever had any right to redress, they had lost such right long before Trinity Church came into existence. The title of the Church to every parcel of its lands to which Anneke Jans Bogardus ever had any color of a prior claim is not only free from legal defect, but is free also, and has always been free from any equitable claim of her descendants ; and if any wrong was perpetrated when her children parted with the property, it was a wrong on the part of those of them who managed the transaction against the others interested in the proceeds ; *the fraud of some of the heirs upon the others*, antedating the existence of Trinity Church nearly forty years."¹

In short, the claim is in its entire history an instance of a mere delusion, and those persons who now, after the Church has held the property for one hundred and ninety-one years, persist in making it must be considered as playing on the ignorance of simple persons and guilty of conscious fraud.²

For further and full information on this subject the reader is referred to a note prepared for this work by Mr. Stephen P. Nash, Senior Warden of Trinity Church, an eminent member of the New York Bar, and for many years a representative of the Diocese in its Standing Committee, and in the Diocesan and General Conventions. Mr. Nash has shown : 1st, what were the pieces of land constituting the original endowment of the Church ; 2dly, how they came into her possession and when ; 3dly, by whom attempts at spoliation have been made ; and 4thly, how those attempts have been in every instance defeated. Having read what has now been briefly presented in the text, together with the appended note, the reader will

¹ I quote from Mr. Nash's larger work entitled *Anneke Jans Bogardus, her Farm and how it Became the Property of Trinity Church, New York. An Historic Inquiry.* By Stephen P. Nash, LL.D. Prepared and printed for the use of the Church, New York, 1890.

² See Schuyler's *Col. N. Y.*, ii., 361, quoted by Mr. Nash.

understand the references to the Farm which are scattered through this history.

Nothing of particular interest appears in the Records until Feb. 14, 1704, when we find a memorandum of the lease of "the Queen's Farme" to George Riese for £30 per annum for five years.¹

"April 30, 1705, Mr. Jamison produced his Excels Patent for the King's Farme now call'd the Queene's Farm and the Queene's Garden wch was read and acquainted the Vestry that his Excell. Mr. Attorney General Bickley and Mr. Secretary Clarke, gave their fees for passing thereof."²

No history of the foundation and progress of the Church in this country would be complete which did not record the name and recite the noble services of the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," commonly known and spoken of as "The Venerable Society." This organization was chartered in the reign of King William III., June 16, A.D., 1701. Its objects were, first, to provide a maintenance for an orthodox clergy in the plantations, colonies, and factories of Great Britain, beyond the seas, for the instruction of the King's loving subjects in the Christian religion; and secondly, to make such other provision as was necessary for the propagation of the Gospel in those parts. To use the words of the Dean of Lincoln, in his sermon, preached on the first anniversary, February 20, 1702: "The design is, in the first place, to settle the state of religion, as well as may be, among our own people there, which, by all account we have, very much wants our pious care; and then to proceed, in the best methods they can, toward the conversion of the natives." Among the corporators were included, *ex officio*, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of London, Ely, Gloucester, Chichester,

¹ Records, i., 51.

² *Ibid.*, 54.

Bath and Wells, and Bangor, the Deans of Westminster and St. Paul's, the Regius and Margaret Professors of the two universities, and a very long list of clergy and laity of high standing in the mother country ; and the Society was authorized to collect subscriptions for its objects and to pay them over to its own nominees. To this Society was due, under God, the settlement of the Church on this side of the Atlantic, by the support of the clergy who came out hither, and by provision for mission work among the negroes and Indians. Men were sent out by it to South and North Carolina, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and all parts of New England ; teachers and catechists for the blacks who were held in slavery in the colonies, and for savage tribes beyond, so that it might truly be said :

“Quæ regio in terris nostri non plena laboris ?”

Incessant reference is made to the Venerable Society in every history bearing on the subject of the evangelization of North America by the Church of England ; and justly, for that was the strong arm on which the clergy had to lean when everything seemed against them, and to that fountain of supply and comfort they looked, when, without such assistance, their efforts must have failed. The rector of Trinity Church, New York, was not directly connected with the Society, but his assistants were its missionaries, and his catechists and lay helpers were supported by appropriations from its treasury.¹

February 19, 1703. “Ordered that Capt. Wilson, Capt. Willet and Mr. David Jamison do meet with Mr. Isaac De Riemer and treat with him concerning the lot

¹ See Dr. Humphrey's *Historical Account of the S. P. G.*, London, 1730 ; Hawkins's *Missions of the Church of England*, London, 1845 ; *Digest of the S. P. G.*, 1701-1892, chaps. ix. and x.

of ground which he has lying near to Trinity Church, and agree with him for the same upon the most easy terms they can for the use of the said Church."¹

It appears, too, that the money collected "for the Redemption of some slaves in Sally," which had been allotted to the parish by order of the Council, still lay in Holland, and a committee was appointed "to treat with my Lord" Cornbury concerning it; while Mr. Huddleston was voted £2 19.3 "for teaching Wm. Welch to read and write."²

March 30th. Mr. Jamison was retained as attorney to recover the money, which, it would seem, was actually recovered in the sum of £209.3 in sterling, and 150 guilders Holland money recovered in goods, January 13, 1705.

June 3d. Ordered that "Col. Wenham pay Mr. Jamison what is reasonable for his pains and trouble in drawing the deed for ye Burial place granted from the City of New York to Trinity Church."³ This land had already been used by the city as a cemetery, but had been granted to the parish October 19th, previous, by the city, Philip French being Mayor.

Under the same date we have the first mention of the Dutch Church which occurs in the Records.

Ordered, that

"Capt. Tothill and Capt. Sims wait on Majr. de Brown and get him to execute the Deed for that parcell of ground he pretended to, now within the bounds of Trinity Church Charter, and that they with Capt. Morris and Capt. Wilson do meet with the managers of the Dutch Church and endeavor to get them to Sign the Resignation of that piece of land which they lay pretensions to, but is contained in Trinity Church Charter."⁴

It was also "Agreed with Mr. Ebbs Bricklayer that

¹ Records, i., 43.

² *Ibid.*, i., 44.

³ *Ibid.*, i., 44.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i., 45.

he point the Steeple, ye Western part of ye Church, make middle Brick pillars in ye windows and plaister them sufficiently." ¹

The subject of music was now attracting attention in the parish, and, on the 4th of August, the rector and others were appointed a committee "to Confer with and Discourse Mr. Henry Neering Organ maker, about making and erecting an Organ in Trinity Church in New York, and if they shall think meet to agree with him on as easy terms as possible." ²

Nothing appears to have been done with respect to the organ at this time, as in 1709, Mr. Vesey wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury about their need of "a sett of Organs." At this time there does not appear to have been anything of the kind in New York. The first organ in America, it is believed, was set up at Boston in 1713. The earliest mentioned in New York is the organ given by Governor Burnet, December 28, 1727, to the Corporation of the Dutch Church; a somewhat singular action, considering the fact that Burnet was a member of the Church of England, and that Trinity Church was still unprovided for. ³

¹ Records, i., 45.

² *Ibid.*, i., 5. "That yie middle right hand pew in ye gallery be allotted to Mr. Philip French and his family," and "that ye right hand front pew in ye gallery be allotted to Mr. Nichols and his famiyy and also for Mr. Attorney General Broughton and his family," and "Capt. Coddington and his family have ye one half of that pew with Alderman Smith." Records, i., 45. Later there was ordered a pew "for ye Govr. Council Mayor and Aldermen," and it is ordered that "Mr. William Bradford and his wife do sit in that half of the pew which was formerly Mr. Saml. Burt's, along with Mr. Deick Vandenburgh, until the said Burt's male children are of years to use the same."

³ See the *Christian Intelligencer*, April 11, 1878, which gives a translation of the articles of conveyance. The Governor, however, did not hold very strict views with regard to the Church, and was exceedingly friendly to the Dutch, among whom he had lived in Holland. It may be stated here, that one of the earliest organs in the New World was built by a member of the Religious Orders in South America in the sixteenth century, some of the pipes being made from trunks of trees.

Mr. Keith again appeared in New York in November, 1703. He writes :

"November 7, Sunday. I preached at *New York*, on *Acts 2, 42*, and that Sermon was soon after Printed at *New York*, at the desire of some who heard it, and did contribute to the Charge of its Printing." November 28th he preached again "on *1 Cor. 12, 13*"¹ the discourse being printed ; and he says : "by the Blessing of God, both these printed Sermons have been serviceable to many in these *American* Parts, and to some also in England, to reclaim them from their erroneous Opinions about the two Sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper."²

We may judge of the financial strength of the congregation at this period, from the fact that on April 19, 1704, "the voluntary contributions" were reported as "£51 : 14 : 1½ since December 12 previous."³

At this time Colonel Wenham was "desired to write to Mr. Thrale to procure the Plate & furniture given by her Maty to Trinity Church."⁴

The name of William Bradford now appears on the Records. It was ordered, April 19th, that Mr. Bradford be

¹ *Coll. P. E. Hist. Soc.*, 1851, pp. 44, 45.

² The Menzies Catalogue, p. 235, gives the titles of these now exceedingly rare sermons :

"*The Notes of the True Church With the Application of them to the Church of England, And the great Sin of Separation from Her. Delivered in a Sermon preached at Trinity Church in New York, Before the Administration of the holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the 7th of November, 1703, by George Keith, M. A. Printed and Sold by William Bradford at the sign of the Bible, in New York, 1704.*"

"*The great Necessity & Use of the Holy Sacraments of Baptism & the Lord's Supper, delivered in a Sermon preached at Trinity-Church in New-York, the 28th of November, 1703, by George Keith, M. A. Printed and Sold by William Bradford at the sign of the Bible, New York, 1704.*"

³ Records, i., 47.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i., 47. The public Records at this period give a glimpse of what was going on in some quarters, and say, April 3d : "The Court being informed that the widow Rombouts and several other persons on the west side of Broadway are levelling the fortifications, and about to fence in the street fronting to Hudson River, ordered that Alderman Hutchings and Mr. Laroux do forthwith warn them from so doing, upon pain of being prosecuted at Law." At this time the city owned 8,925 feet of land on the water front, which, it was ordered, should not be sold at less than threepence a foot.

paid for a book to enter the Records of Marriages and Baptisms, and for printing two laws for the Church, four pounds four shillings. This was the eminent man who introduced the art of printing in the Middle Colonies of North America. Born in England in 1663, he accompanied William Penn to Pennsylvania in 1682, and set up a printing press in Philadelphia under the auspices of the Quakers. Things not going smoothly there, he accepted an urgent invitation from Governor Fletcher, and came to New York in 1692, where he was immediately appointed Printer to the Crown, and where he resided till the day of his death, May 23, 1752. Mr. Bradford was a Vestryman of Trinity Church from 1703 to 1710. Notes of work done by him for the parish appear from time to time in the Records.

In his history of Trinity Church Dr. Berrian gives a long account of Mr. Elias Neau, whose transition from the French Evangelical Society to the English Church seems to have been considered as a matter of considerable moment. This person was an elder of the French Church, and no doubt a person of a deeply religious character and earnest turn of thought. He was in correspondence with the Venerable Society some time before he made the change. We learn from a letter of his, dated June 22, 1704, that he was active in trying to bring the denominations in New York into some kind of union.

"The fine project that our Pastors of N. York had made to labor in concert to erect a Society upon the plan of that at London has had no success. It was impossible for me tho' I took all the care imaginable to reassemble our 3 Pastors. I found excuses everywhither & which seemed plausible. Mr. Vesey on the one side said that he durst not innovate anything without express commands from my Lord of London and that if he should goe to secret assemblies 'twould be the means of introducing those sort of assemblies which the Presbyterians call

Meetings, and that whereas his Church is but as yet in its infancy he ought to labor that he might edify it."

The Dutch minister pleaded many engagements and his ignorance of the English language. "The French minister," he says, "is the only one who has pusht forward & desired that a Society might be endeavored to be erected according to the Articles they had agreed upon together." This failing, Mr. Neau and a few friends formed a little society, consisting of seven persons, of whom the French pastor was President, and they met every Wednesday in a kind of devotional conference. About this time Mr. Neau was appointed as Catechist by Lord Cornbury, an appointment which was not satisfactory to Mr. Vesey, who thought that it should have come from the Bishop of London, and that the person appointed should be in Deacon's Orders. Suspicions were entertained of Mr. Neau, as not in sympathy with the spirit of the Church, and tinctured with purist conceits. On August 29th¹ of the same year he wrote again to the Society, explaining the difficulty of his situation, inasmuch as if he proceeded with the work of Catechist he would displease Mr. Vesey, while if he remained inactive he would offend Lord Cornbury. However, the happy solution of the trouble came finally in his conforming to the Church of England. In explanation and defense of his cause, he wrote, November 6th, that he had performed his promise "to quit the employment of Elder & 'tis now about 10 days since I am entirely settled in the Eng. Chh. not upon the sole account of my being your Catechist, nor for any other worldly object, but I have done it through a principle of Conscience, because I find more comfort in celebrating the Mysteries in y^{or} Chh and in Praying. I had learnt in my Dungeon part of y^e Eng. Liturgy by

¹ N. Y. Gen. Conv. MSS., i., 49.

heart, by the means of a Bible that I had there, & to wch there was the Com: Prayer Book annex'd. I did my devotions therewth Night & Morn^g in my Solitude. Thus, I beseech you & the whole Illust^s Society to believe that I have a very great affection for the Com: Prayer, and that it shall not be my Fault, that the Church is not establisht everywhere according to the directions that shall be given me concerning it."¹

During the summer of this year, it is apparent from the letters of Colonel Heathcote to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, that there was an earnest desire to extend the work of the Church. Heathcote wrote on June 1st, suggesting that the Society should give directions "that there should be 4 Quarterly meetings of the clergy annually 2 in West Chester County, & Queen's County 2, to propagate the church."²

August 23, 1704. The following entry is of special interest to students of American bibliography: "That the Church Wardens do lend to Mr. Wm. Bradford thirty or forty pounds for six months on security without interest for purchasing Paper to Print Common Prayer."³ Chaplain Sharp was security for him.

In the year 1704, Church services were established at Hempstead by Mr. Thomas, who thus carried on the good work commenced, no doubt originally by Mr. Vesey, and deepened by Keith. At this time also services began

¹ N. Y. Gen. Conv. MSS., i., 53.

² *Ibid.*, i., 30.

³ Records, i., 49. At this time a system of fees was recorded: "*The Clerk's Fees.* For attending at a Funeral, Five shillings & sixpence. For his attendance at a Marriage, Six shillings and sixpence. For Registering a Christning, nine pence. *The Sexton's Fees.* For Ringing the Bell for a Funeral, Three shillings. For making a grave, Six shillings. For every marriage, Three shillings & sixpence. *Ordered* That every Stranger pay Double Fees. *Fees to be paid for Burial in Church.* For Burying a man or woman in the Chancel, to the minister, Five Pounds. For ye same ground for a child about Ten years & not exceeding Sixteen, Fifty shillings. For a child under Ten years, One Pound five shillings."—Records, i., 49.

to be held at Richmond, Staten Island, where St. Andrew's Church was built in 1713.

At a meeting of the clergy held in New York, October 5, 1704, the subject of education was considered. A communication was then received from Lord Cornbury, who had been instrumental in obtaining the enactment of a law for the establishment of a Latin Free School, and endowing it with a salary of £50 per annum. Other schools were also established.

Here we may turn for a few minutes to secular life, for the purpose of showing the social and domestic environment of the people at this period, in connection with which all genuine information is valuable.

Late in the autumn of 1704 that unique character, Madam Knight, so called, travelled from Boston to New York, and at once went to the Auction, which seems at that time to have formed something of the nature of a Social Exchange.

"Mr. Burroughs," she says, "went with me to Vendue where I bought about 100 Rheem of paper w^{ch} was re-taken in a flyboat from Holland and sold very Reasonably here—some ten, some Eight Shillings per Rheem by the Lott w^{ch} was ten Rheem in a Lott. And at the Vendue I made a great many acquaintances amongst the good women of the town, who curteously invited me to their houses and generously entertained me.

"The Cittie of New York is a pleasant, well compacted place, situated on a Commodius River w^{ch} is a fine harbour for shipping. The Buildings Brick Generaly, very stately and high, though not altogether like ours in Boston. The Bricks in some of the Houses are of divers Coullers and laid in Checkers, being glazed look very agreeable. The inside of them are neat to admiration, the wooden work, for only the walls are plastered, and the Sumers and Gist are plained and kept very white scowr'd as so is all the partitions if made of Bords. The fire-places have no Jambs (as ours have) But the Backs run flush with the walls, and the Hearth is of Tyles and is as farr out into the Room at the Ends as before the fire, w^{ch} is Generally Five foot in the Low'r rooms, and the peice over where the mantle tree should be is made as

ours with Joyners work, and as I suppose is fasten'd with iron rodds inside. The House where the Vendue was, had Chimney Corners like ours, and they and the hearths were laid wth the finest tile that I ever see, and the stair cases laid all with white tile which is ever clean, and so are the walls of the Kitchen w^{ch} had a Brick floor. They were making Great preparations to Receive their Governor, Lord Cornbury from the Jerseys, and for that End raised the militia to Gard him on shore to the fort."¹

Our literary friend also devoted some portions of her "100 Rheem" of paper to other matters. For instance, she continues :

"They are Generaly of the Church of England, and have a New England Gentleman for their minister, and a very fine Church, set out with all customary requistes. There are also a Dutch and Divers Conventicles as they call them, viz. Baptists, Quakers, etc. They are not strict in keeping the Sabbath as in Boston and other places where I had bin, But seem to deal with great exactness as farr as I see or Deall with. They are sociable to one another and Curteos and Civill to strangers and fare well in their houses.

"The English go fasheonable in their dress. But² the Dutch, especially the middling sort, differ from our women, in their habitt go loose, were French muches w^{ch} are like a Capp and a head band in one, leaving their ears bare, which are sett out wth Jewells of a large size and many in number. And their fingers hoop't with Rings, some with large stones in them of many Coullers as were their pendants in their ears, which You should see very old women wear as well as Young.

"They have Vendues very frequently and make their Earnings very well by them, for they treat with good Liquor Liberally and the Customers drink as Liberally and Generally pay for't as well, by paying for that which they Bidd up Briskly for, after the sack has gone plentifully about, tho' sometimes good penny worths are got there.

"Their diversions in the Winter is Riding Sleys about three or four Miles out of Town, where they have Houses of entertainment at a place called the Bowery, and some go to friends Houses who handsomely treat them. Mr. Burroughs carry'd his spouse and Daughter and myself out to one Madame Dowes, a Gentle-woman who lived at a farm House, who gave us a handsome Entertainment of five or six

¹ The private Journal kept by Madam Knight in ■ journey from Boston to New York in the year 1704. P. 66.

■ Sic.

Dishes and choice Beer and metheglin, Cyder, &c., all which she said was the produce of her farm ; I believe that we met 50 or 60 slays that day ; they fly with great swiftness and some are so furious that they'll turn out of the path for none except a Loaden Cart. Nor do they spare for any diversion the place affords, and sociable to a degree, they'r Tables being as free to their Naybours as to themselves."¹

Such is the picture given of life in New York at this period.

From Madam Knight's lively Journal one would hardly realize that the country was in a state of war, and that New York was well-nigh blockaded. Of the disabilities to which trade was subjected at this time (1705) one may judge from a letter of Cornbury's written July 8th. He says :

"I must acquaint you that this place suffers very much from want of a man of War—there has been a French privateer upon this Coast, he lay four days off of Sandy-hook, he had taken a Bermuda's Sloop which was bound from this place to Jamaica, a few days before he came upon this Coast he had not been above fifteen days out of Martinico. There is a Brigantine and a Sloop fitted out from Martinico to come upon this coast likewise ; this I was informed of by the Master of the Bermuda Sloop, which was taken, whom the privateers had set on shore upon Sandy-hook."²

Cornbury sent armed cruisers to go after them.

As to the chaplaincy at the Fort, it was vacant Sept. 23d, 1700 ; the Rev. John Peter Brisac afterwards served ; the Rev. Edmund Mott succeeded Mr. Brisac. Lord Cornbury, writing under date of October 3, 1706, to the Lords of Trade, refers to the Rev. Mr. Mott, "late Chaplain of her Maj^{ty}'s forces here, and what effects he has left in the Country. As for effects, he has left some books of which I herewith send a Catalogue and a very few cloths not worth in all six pounds, a silver seal, a silver headed cane, and some trifles all mentioned at

¹ Private Journal, 68-71.

² *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iv., 1147.

the foot of the inventory.”¹ On the death of Mr. Mott the place was given to the Rev. John Sharp, of Cheese-ques, New Jersey, who commenced his work in New York October 20, 1704, resigning in 1717, after having retired to London. As the chapel of the Fort was not in condition for use at this time, Mr. Sharp’s duties were probably light, giving him ample time to assist Mr. Vesey.

To resume our narrative. Mention has been made of the appointment of Mr. Club as Catechist. It is possible that Mr. Vesey was disappointed as to the value of his assistance. At all events, November 21, 1705, he accepted gladly the services of Mr. Neau, who had conformed to the Church and whom Mr. Vesey enthusiastically styles “a glorious confessor of our holy religion.” The commission of Mr. Neau by the Venerable Society was no doubt due to his great devotion to work among the humble classes. There were at that time about 1,500 negro and Indian slaves in the city, the system of slavery having been introduced by the Dutch. In vol. xii. of the Society’s Archives, 141, is a list of Mr. Neau’s black pupils. Hawkins says that he began visiting them from house to house, but afterwards obtained leave for them to come to his own residence. In 1708 the list of his catechumens had risen to about two hundred. He could never assemble his scholars till candle-light, either in summer or winter, except on Sundays, when they came at the close of the afternoon service. He taught these poor abused and degraded human beings to say the prayers by heart. They were presented to Mr. Vesey for baptism as fast as he judged them to be ready. In 1712 his work was interrupted by the so-called insurrection of the negroes, but only one of his scholars, and that one unbaptized, was found to be implicated. The Gov-

¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iv., 1182. *Coll. Prot. Epis. Church*, i., xvii.

ernor approved this mission work, and the clergy generally were exhorted to aid it by all means in their power.¹

Mr. Neau, writing to the Venerable Society July 5, 1710, says :

" Mr. Vesey baptized three of my Catechumens on Christmas Day, six on Easter Sunday, viz.: One Indian, 2 Negroes, and 3 Negresses, and three upon Whitsunday, viz.: 1 Negro and 2 Negresses ; my custom has been to carry them to Mr. Vesey to be examined, and from him to the church, and I take free and white persons for witnesses according to the order of our Rubrick."²

The condition of the colored people at this time appears to have been deplorable. Humphrey gives a glimpse of their state where he says :

"the negroes were much discouraged from embracing the Christian religion, upon account of the very little regard showed them in any religious respect. Their marriages were performed by mutual consent only, without the blessing of the Church ; they were buried by those of their own country or complexion in the common field, without any Christian office, perhaps some ridiculous heathen rites were performed at the grave by some of their own people. No notice was given of their being sick that they might be visited ; on the contrary frequent discourses were made in conversation that they had no souls and perished as beasts."³

It is to the honor of the rector and clergy that they did all they could to help those unhappy and miserable people.

On Sunday, August 11, 1706, Katherine, Lady Cornbury, the wife of the Governor, died, aged thirty-four years. The event caused a profound sensation. Her funeral took place in Trinity Church, on the 13th of the month, on which occasion a sermon was preached by the Rev. John Sharp, Chaplain to the Forces. In this discourse the following words occur :

¹ Berrian's *Historical Sketch*, 34, and Hawkins's *Historical Notices*, 272.

² N. Y. Genl. Conv. MSS., i., 214.

³ Humphrey's *Historical Account*, 92 ; ■ sketch of the Plot is given on pp. 93-95.

"On *Tuesday* before her Death, she professed to me (having the Honour to wait on her then) that she was most willing to leave the World; that she died in the Faith of the *Church of England* in which she reckoned herself happy that she had been born. She declared herself to be in perfect Charity with all the World, forgiving them, as she expected forgiveness at Christ's Hands. She received the Sacrament, and Absolution of the Church, and desired our Prayers might be continued for her in the Language of our Holy Mother. She pray'd to God to enable her patiently to abide His Good-Will and Pleasure, and go through her last and greatest Work with Faith and Patience." ¹

A reminder of the war existing between England and France appears in the Records, the Wardens being directed to "visit the men that were wounded on board her Matys ship the Tryton's Prize, engag'd with a French Privateer on this coast, and supply them and Famyls with necessarys not exceeding ten pounds." ²

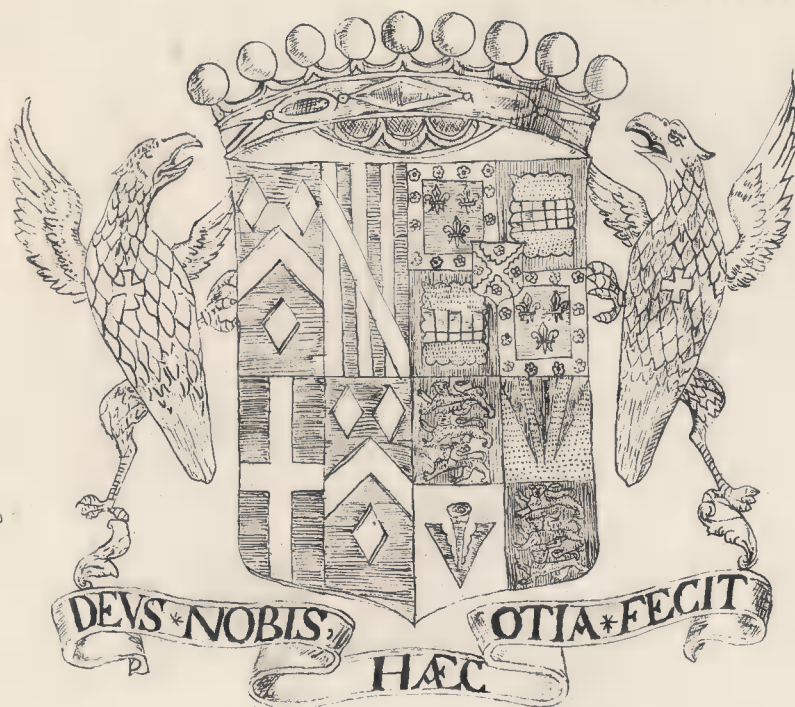
It was also ordered :

"that Capt. Mathews hold & enjoy the Garden called the Queene's Garden granted to the Church by his Excellency the Lord Viscount Cornbury for seven years, if he so long live, If the same be not demanded by the Church Wardens for the time being, to erect a house thereon for the Incumbent of Trinity Church. Upon condition that the said Garden be Planted & Improv'd with good choice fruit Trees & be laid out in Walks according to the Approbation of the Ch : Wardens for the time being & leave the same Improvements & the fence in good repaire, when surrendered, & also Level & make even the passage Lane or way that leads from the broad way between the Church-yard & said garden to the North River by the Locus Trees standing by the said river." ³

¹ The sermon was published two years later : "A Sermon Preached at *Trinity-Church* in *New-York* in America, August 13, 1706. At the Funeral of the Right Honourable *Katherine Lady Cornbury*, Baroness *Clifton of Leighton Bromswold*, &c. Heiress to The most Noble *Charles Duke of Richmond and Lenox*, Wife to his Excellency *Edward Lord Viscount Cornbury*. Her Majesty's Captain General, and Governor in Chief of the Provinces of *New-York*, *New-Jersey*, and Territories depending thereon in America, &c. By *John Sharp*, A. M., Chaplain to the Queen's Forces in the Province of *New-York*. London : Printed and sold by *H. Hills* in *Blackfryars* near the Water-Side. For the Benefit of the poor." P. 15.

² Records, i., 58.

³ *Ibid.*, i., 58.



CATHARINE Lady Viscountess **CORNBURY** Baroness of **CLIFTON**
of Leighton Bromswold, in the County of Warwick, Sole surviving Daughter
& Heir of **HENRY** Lord **O'Brien** & the Lady **Catharine** his wife; who
Sole Sister & heir to the Most Noble **CHARLES** Duke of **RICHMOND & LENOX** born
The 29th day of Jan^r in the year 1675. Departed this life at the City of New York
In America the 11th day of August 1706 in the 31 year of her age

Lady Cornbury's Coffin plate.

Found in the vault in Trinity churchyard near south porch of church.

August 21, 1707. Ordered "that since the New Version of Psalms are Printed, next Sunday come seven night, the said New Version by Dr. Brady & Tate be sang in Trinity Church and that no other Psalms be sung in ye said Church." ¹

Trinity seems already to have been regarded as the foster mother of new churches; for, on January 26, 1708, "Mr. Wenham presented to the Board a letter from Col. Heathcote wch was read, desiring the Lone of one hundred pounds for two years towards building a church at Stratford in the Colony of Conecticut & he & the Rev. Mr. Muirson would be security for the same."

Whereupon it was ordered "That notice be given to all the vestry to meet at Mr. Jordains precisy at three a Clock in the afternoone, Tuesday next to examine the state of the Church cash." ¹

This record is an interesting one, as it marks the beginning of that policy which resulted in the loss to the Corporation, through gifts and grants in all directions and to an innumerable company of applicants, of nearly two thirds of their entire estate. The policy was not changed till some thirty years ago; had it not been, little, if anything, of the original endowment would have been left; our down-town churches would have been sold and removed, and the parish might have been in a state of bankruptcy.

At this meeting Mr. Wenham presented a

"List of writings belonging to Trinity Church, vizt.

"A Patent for the Queen's Farme & Garden" and a "Lease of the Farme."

"A conveyance of the ground behind the Church from Mr. De Reimer."

"A Counterpart of George Reyer's Lease of the Farm" and "The Citys grant of the Burying Place."

¹ Records, i., 59.

² *Ibid.*, i., 59.

"Mr. Wrights bond of Security for James Welch for the grave money," with "A Table of Duty's of St. Mary Le Bow."

Lord Cornbury's administration, which began with hopeful auguries, closed in disgrace. Though not without good qualities, he was a vain and imperious man, and succeeded in disgusting the people of New York by his unseemly behavior. There seems to be no reasonable ground to doubt the story that, on one occasion, he was guilty of the gross absurdity of appearing in public in female dress.¹ This silly freak might have been overlooked and forgotten; he cannot, however, be so easily excused for acts of persecution directed against several clergymen of the day. The case of the Rev. Francis Mackemie, a Presbyterian, whom he threw into prison for preaching in a private house without his consent, was a flagrant instance in point. It is, however, a pity that it should have been wrested for the purpose of attack on our Church by writers of a partisan class. The trouble was a purely personal one between the Governor and an imprudent man, who had irritated Cornbury's vanity. Clergymen of the Church of England were occasionally treated worse than Mackemie, and on slighter grounds.²

We close the narrative of this administration with regret that so sad an ending should have ensued on so auspicious a beginning. The arrival of this man in his government

¹ Lewis Morris, Feb. 9, 1707, writing to the Secretary of State, says of Cornbury: "Of whom I must say some thing w^{ch} perhaps no boddy will think worth their while to tell, and that is, his dressing publicly in woman's cloathes every-day, and putting a stop to all publique business while he is pleaseing himself wth y^t peculiar but detestable magot." *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, v., 38. Hawkins's *Historical Notices*, 271.

² The Rev. Thoroughgood Moor, Missionary of the S. P. G. in New Jersey, was dragged from Burlington to Amboy and thence taken prisoner to the Fort in New York, and suffered the greatest indignity. *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iv., 1077, and v., 318. See Brodhead's so-called "*Impeachment of Cornbury as a forger*," *Hist. Mag.*, 1863, vii., 329; Force's *Hist. Tracts*, iv., 4; Smith's *New York*, i., 186-90; and *Centennial History of the P. E. Church, Dio. of N. York*, 60. See also Briggs's *Hist. of Presbyterianism*, 152.

was a cause of just rejoicing among those whose peace and rights had been invaded and whose lives were in jeopardy. Had he sustained himself as a man of honor and integrity, his name and memory would have been cherished by us as one of the benefactors of the Church ; but the frailty of nature in this instance, as in too many others, robbed him of the praise and renown which, once his, were forgotten in the shame and humiliation of his exit from the scene.

CHAPTER X.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF LORD LOVELACE.

Address by the Vestry—Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury on the State of the Church—Huguenot Congregation at New Rochelle Conforms to the Church of England—Letters of Colonel Heathcote on this Subject—Early Close of this Administration—Sermon by Mr. Vesey on the Death of Governor Lovelace—Military Operations of 1709—Continued Growth of the Church.

THE downfall of Lord Cornbury was ruinous and complete. On his removal from office his creditors took occasion to throw him into the common jail, then connected with the City Hall in Wall Street, where he lay until, on the death of his father, he found himself in possession of funds sufficient to enable him to discharge his legal obligations ; then he departed, never to return. John, Lord Lovelace, Baron of Hurley, succeeded him as Governor of New York and New Jersey. The appointment was made March 28, 1708 ; the order to prepare his commission was given April 19th ; and on the 17th of December following he reached New York, after a passage, as he says, of “nine weeks and Odd days” on the *Kingsdale* packet. He remarks that “our winter sets in very hard, the Ports and Rivers are full of ice,” and that “our poor Seamen were so benumbed with the Cold, that at last we had but twenty-five men fit for any Duty, and had not the Soldiers, which we had on board assisted, the Ship had been in great danger.”

An address to Lord Lovelace was approved and ordered to be “fairly engross’d,” in which address the Vestry say that

"we with most profound Gratitude acknowledge that her Maty has on many Occasions, signified Her tender Regards for this our Infant Church by endowments out of her Royal Bounty, has been pleas'd to bestow on it, and has now in a great measure committed to the Protection of yr Excl, from whom as a person adorned with all the bright characters that are requisite to create the greatest esteem. We can no wise doubt, but even at this distance, to have a lively sence of the benign influence of the most Illustrious Reign under the greatest and best of Queen's."¹

An order was given, January 11, "that the Ch: Wardens Col. Bayard, Mr. Regnier and Mr. Jamison be a Com'ee appointed to treat with workmen relating to carying on the Steeple & produce a Model or Models thereof & Report their proceedings therein to the next Vestry." It still remained unfinished.

June 2. "That this Board do represent to the Bishop of London the Patent for the Queen's Farme & Garden & Act of Assembly relating thereto."²

"That from the expiration of the Revenue of this Province Mr. Vesey be paid twenty-six pounds p. Ann. out of the rent of the Queen's Farme, if the Government do not pay the same for his House rent"; while Mr. Jamison was requested to reply to a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury and make known to him "the State of the Church."³ A letter to the Bishop of London was also prepared and read at the next meeting, June 17th, in which the action of the Assembly, hostile to the Church, was recieved, that body having voted

"that no Govr thereafter should have power to Grant or Demise for Longer time than of his owne Government the said Farm and Garden as being amongst other things the Denison of her Matys Fort in New York & declare all other grants of said Garden & Farme to be void ipso facto,"

which act Governor Cornbury had had repealed. The

¹ Records, i., 64.

² *Ibid.*, i., 66.

³ *Ibid.*, i., 66.

letter then goes on to give information respecting the financial condition of the parish and says that Mr. Vesey had

“an allowance for his House Rent out of the Revenue of this Province, our Church at the time of its first being Granted being considerably Indebted by building of their Church & Steeple were not in a Capacity to build for the minister a Dwelling house, the payment of this allowance had likewise been Stopped & Interrupted wch put us upon the necessity of supplying that Defect out of our weekly Contributions for some time, until the arrival of the Viscount Cornbury, who soon afterward got an Act passed for the better Establishmt of this maintenance of our Minister, by wch instead of £100 p ann. is provided for Mr. Vesey during his life or continuance amongst us £160 p. ann ; and his Lordp did likewise make good to him the former allowance out of the Revenue £26 p. ann two last years only excepted, the garden being about a quarter of a mile from the Fort about half an acre of ground out of Fence a comon place for Dung & Rubbish of no benefit to any Govr. but, adjoining upon the south side of the Church yard & very commodiously situated for a dwelling house & garden to our Minister, afterwards, to wit the 23rd of November 1705 before that law about Extravagant Grants was approved & the other repealed, his Lordp did grant to us a Patent for the said Farme & Garden forever under a small quit rent & this Condicton thereunder written, that if His Matys Capt-General & Govr in Chief for the time being of the said Province should at any time thereafter cease or forbear the yearly paymt of £26 for the said House Rent wch has been paid out of the Revenue in the said Province & at such time no suitable house should be erected. Which Revenue of the Province of New York on the 18th day of May last did expire by its own Limitacon & so remains discontinued. Now so it is please your Lordp.

“The Acts of Assembly of this Province being transmitted for Her Matys Royal Assent or disallowance. We are lately informed Her Maty has been graciously pleas'd on some precedent consideration to approve & allow that Act made against the Extravagant Grants & to repeal the other Act of Assembly wch did repeal the same, by wch means we are apprehensive the foundation of the Patent of the year 1705 granting the said Farme & Garden is like to [be] disputed.

“We demised said Farme for five years a £30 p. ann. wch is not yet expired, & upon the Determination of the Revenues. We pass'd a vote at our meeting in a full Vestrey for paymt of the £26 to Mr.

Vesey for his House rent. Since the Granting of this Patent for the Farme & Garden we put the Garden in to Fence & built there in a stone wall wch cost us upwards of £50 & have let it for ten years, without any rent on condition to Improve the same with fruit Trees & Walks gainst such time, we shall be able to build a Dwelling house in the front thereof for our minister. If it be her Matys Royal pleasure the Farme or Garden or both should continue the Denisons of the succeeding Govr we Readyly submit to her Gracious will & pleasure, but if her Matys Royal Intention or purpose in affirming & repealing of these two laws was for other good ends & purposes, we doubt not that Her Maty will be Graciously pleased to give directions for settling us upon a surer foundation in the peaceable enjoymt of ye said Farme & Garden."

Accordingly, the Vestry beg the good offices of the Bishop in presenting the subject to the Queen, while they improve the occasion to say :

"neither can we omitt reminding yr Lordp, how we are still oblig'd for the Loan & use of the Communion Plate of Her Matys Chapel in the Fort in New York, in that our Books Vestments are almost worn out, & how we have been granted by Her Sacred Maty for a supply of those things to our Church in particular, but by what ill fate or accident we know not, have them not to this day."

They also send "a Copy of that paraph of the Viscount Cornbury's Commission for N. York relating to the power of granting lands."¹ In a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury about this time, they say :

"It is but of late years our Church had its being and is yet but very tender the greatest part of the Inhabitants of this Province are of the Dutch and French Reformed Religion or Dissenters & Quakers, & but 3 County's within this province would receive a Church of England minister, to wit Queen's County West Chester and Richmond, & of these County's but the smallest number goe to the worship. With much adoe we have overcome the Debt we had contracted by the building of our Church and Steeple, wch latter is designed for a Ring of Bells, the walls are of good thickness and foundation above 30 foot square, it is got so high as the ridgepole of the Church, but for want of money, we were forced to cover it there and for the present have hung in a Bell

¹ Records, i., 67.

of 6sd weight,¹ the free gift of his Lordp of London. The Bishop of Bristol in the year 1699 sent us over so many stones as did pave all the Isles of our Church. Col. Fletcher who was Governor of this Province from 1692 to 1698 gave the first Life and being to it and was a large Benefactor out of his private fortune. His successor in the Government (on the contrary) endeavored to ruin it, altho' he some times came hither to receive the holy Sacrament which we hope God has forgiven him, the Viscount Cornbury next to him, during his Governmt has endeavored not only to restore but advance the Churches Interest and made in this Grant wch by the accot we had, from his successor the Lord Lovelace is shaken and rendered disputable, until her most Sacred Maty shall be graciously pleased to re establish us therein. Col. Nicholson has likewise been a Benefactor to our Church of the first Rank. A thousand pounds will be required to finish the Steeple which we propose for our next task, & are about making up that sum. There is much more wanted, vizt, a Dwelling house for our Minister and a Vestery Roome with a Ring of Bells and a Sett of Organs.² What we cannot effect ourselves we shall leave to God Almighty's good Providence and must recommend the work to our Posterity."

They add: "the situation of our Church is very pleasant between two rivers on eminent ground. We have a large Burying place adjoining round it in good fence & adorned with rows of Lime trees wch will make a pleasant shade, in a little time." Suggestively, continuing, they say:

"We want also a couple of large Branches of Candlesticks to hang in the Body of our Church, Communion Plate, Books and Vestments, wch these last we are credibly inform'd have been designed for us by the late King William, and since by her present Maty, but by what ill fate or accident we know not, we are still without them."

The letter concludes with "an humble petition begging yr Graces favour and yr fervent prayers and Benediction."³

At this period the Church was making considerable progress outside the city, and the Huguenot Church at

¹ February 14, 1705, the bill, £6.17, was paid for hanging.

² See on the organ, *ante*, p. 154.

³ Records, i., 70.

New Rochelle conformed. This matter having been misrepresented, like many others, the reader's attention is called to the following letter of Col. Heathcote which sets the matter in its true light :

"Col. Heathcote to the Secretary

"Mannor of Scarsdale

"13 June 1709.

"Worthy Sir,

"After I had finished my other Letters Mr. Bondett gave me an account by Letter that his people were in a very good temper to receive and conform to the Liturgy of our Church in their Congregation, whereupon I went to New Rochelle being accompied with Mr. Sharp Chaplain to the forces, he being at my house, having yesterday preached and Administered the Sacrament at Rye, Mr. Bartow did us also the favour to meet us at Mr. Bondetts, and his congregation being desired to be at Church, after the service had been performed by Mr. Bartow and a very good sermon preached to them by Mr. Sharp, the heads of the congregation desired Mr. Bondet to read, and present me with a paper, returning me thanks for my endeavours in settling them in their religious affairs, which I send you herewith, whereupon those Gentlemen of the Clergy &c I did advise them to address the Society acquainting them with their Resolution of conforming to the rules and Discipline of the Church to pray their assistance in supporting their minister and to send them a number of common prayer Books in the ffrench Language which is here inclosed and also an Instrument in ffrench being a declaration of their Inclinations to conforme to the rules of the Church. We all of us promised them not only to Recommend them in the best manner we could, but also to prevail with Col^l Nicholson and Col^l Morris to do the like. I believe I need not use many arguments to persuade the Society to do what they can Conveniently for them, for Mr. Bondet besides his serving the People of New Rochelle, will be of great use in assisting the Ministers of the other Parishes and not only that but if these people are favourably received and encouraged it will be a great means to influence the ffrench Congregation in New York likewise to conform, and I am not without hopes of effecting my desired end of having this County divided into three parishes, by which means we should effectually shut out all Sectaries from ever crowding in upon us. I can hardly express how great a comfort and Satisfaction it is to me to see this work brought near so happy an issue, and for which I have been labouring in vain many years, and the only thing that Ob-

structed it was that the Government would not give us leave, and which was almost the only cause that none of your Churches have thrived better in this province. The fleet are just upon sailing, and I am in a very great hurry in concluding my Letters, that I must beg leave to refer you to my next and remain

"Worthy sir

"Y^r affect^d Humble Servant

"CALEB HEATHCOTE."

(The letter mentioned in the preceding one.)

"New York, June 6th, 1709.

"Honor'd Sir

"Since it is by your Charitable Assistance and Concurrence that the Company of New Rochelle find themselves provided with the Ministry that your prudence & wise management hath hitherto composed & aswaged our difficulties about these matters of Church Settlement we have thought that it was our duty and that it should be your pleasure of Charity to Assist us with your presence and directions that we may come to some terms of Resolution for to have our Church in full conformity with the national Church of England, and for to have the Protection and assistance of the Rulers and encouragers of the same, that the service of God may be establish'd in our place according to that holy rule and the weakness of our place considered that she may be enabled to support the charges of the ministry, as your Honor knows enough our circumstances be upon that trust of your Candour, sincerity and charity for refuge Protestants, well meaning in the duties of our holy Religion, we remain

"Honor'd Sir

"Your most humble & Dutyful Servts

"ELIAS BADEAU

"ANDREW RENEAU

"J. LEVILLAIN."

(Signed by 26 others.)¹

The administration of Governor Lovelace was brief; he died May 6, 1709. His funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Vesey, May 12th, in Trinity Church. This sermon has been reprinted by the N. Y. Historical Society (Collections, 1880, p. 323). As it is the only one of Mr.

¹ N. Y. Gen. Conv. MSS., i., 187-190.

Vesey's that has come down to us, a few observations upon it may be considered in place. The title runs thus :

"A Sermon Preached in Trinity Church in New York, in *America*, May 12, 1709. At the funeral of the Right Honourable John Lord Lovelace, Barron of *Hurley*, Her Majesties Capt. General and Governour in Chief of the Provinces of *New York & New Fersey*, and the Territories and Tracts of Land depending thereon in *America*, and Vice-Admiral of the same. By *William Vesey*, A. M. and Rector of the City of New York. Printed and Sold by *William Bradford* at the sign of the Bible in *New York* 1709."

The text was, "Mark the perfect and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace." The composition is conceived in the style of a Harvard Master of Arts of the period. It opens as follows :

"Death, Elegantly call'd, The End of Man, is naturally represented to us in such Grim and Ghastly Idea's, as render our Expectations of his Approach, full of Horror, full of Misery, as surrounding our Life with an Army of Deseases, causing violent Agonies, trembling Limbs, distorted Eyes, Fallen Jaws, horrid Convulsions, lamentable Groans, mortal Pangs, and finally separating the Soul from the Body, determining the fate of the Soul in Eternal Happiness or Misery, leaving the Corps to be attended in Funereal Pomp to the House appointed for all Living, with a solemn Train of Mourners, toled along the streets with the doleful Moan of a Bell, and at last to be buried in the dark and silent Grave, and turned into Rottenness and undistinguishable Dust."

In his sermon he gives a fair discussion of the Character of the Perfect Man, at the end saying :

"And now to accommodate all to this Mournful Occasion of this Day's Solemnity.

"Almighty God has been pleased, in a suddain and surprizing manner, to remove by Death, the Right Honourable *John Lord Lovelace*, Barron of *Hurley* our Excellent Governour, who, no doubt, was a Pattern of *Christian Perfection*."

Upon the death of Lovelace,¹ the cares of the State de-

¹ Of Lord Lovelace Lewis Morris wrote, "He was a blessing too great for this country." N. Y. Gen. Conv. MSS., i., 154.

volved on Richard Ingoldsby, her Majesty's Lieutenant-Governor. During his administration, which lasted only about eleven months, he approved himself as an able and worthy officer, though incurring odium in various quarters.

Mr. Vesey supplemented his duties at this time by serving as chaplain to the ships of war visiting the port. In a letter to Col. Riggs, December 2, 1709, referring to these services, he says :

" I deserve some encouragement as well as others, haveing served the Church 12 years with success, that when the people belonging to the men of War have been sick on shore, have visited them and done offices for them, tho' their chaplains have officiated as ministers of Parishes at Boston Philadelphia, and towns very remote from New York, and received the profits ; and also that in the absence of the Chaplain of the Fort, I have taken care of sick soldiers and their families, baptised their children and buried their dead ; and all this without any consideration, except that for about two years I was chaplain to the Triton prize, which is now gone."¹

During the year 1709 military operations were directed against Canada, and General Nicholson was appointed to lead the forces of New York and New Jersey by the old Lake routes towards the north. The army reached the southern end of Lake Champlain, at Woods Creek, when it was found that the English fleet which should have co-operated by ascending the St. Lawrence had been sent to Portugal. Hence the expedition failed.

Colonel Lewis Morris, though far from desiring to force the Church upon the people, and taking very moderate views of the establishment, appears to have been

¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, v., 466.

A reference to the *Triton* is found in a letter of the Lords of Trade, addressed to Cornbury and dated February 4, 1706, in which they say: "Two Friggats vitz The Lowestaff, a fifth rate of 32 Guns and 145 Men Captⁿ. George Fane Commander and the Trittons Prize a sixth rate of 30 Guns and 115 Men, Captⁿ. Thomas Miles Commander, having some time since been sent to attend the service of New York ; We doubt not but that they will be sufficient to protect the coast of New York from the French Privateers." See *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iv., 1172.

interested about this time in the subject of Church extension in the upper part of the island of New York, where the Rev. Mr. Vesey had no following, and probably no voice in religious affairs. Morris wrote to the Society, May 30, 1709, under the above date, saying, "I have used some endeavours to persuade the Dutch in my neighborhood into a good opinion of the Churches of England, and have had that success that they would I believe join a great part of them in the Sacraments and Worship had they Dutch Common Prayer Books and a man that understood their Language."¹ Accordingly, when the Dutch Church in Harlem was left without a "Voor leser," the Rev. Henricus Beyse, formerly the Dutch minister at Esopus, was induced to go there, having conformed to the Church of England and accepted Episcopal Ordination. This created some feeling, and attempt was made by parties among the Dutch to blacken his character. For a year or two, with the encouragement of the Propagation Society, he continued to serve, but the field was not ready for the harvest, and the work was abandoned, while the Dutch clergyman in the city took the oversight of the place.²

¹ N. Y. Gen. Conv. MSS., i., 160.

² Volume viii., No. 11, of the Society's Archives contains testimonials in favor of Mr. Beyse; and No. 12 contains the memorial of this person proposing "to serve ye vacant Church in New Harlem to pave the way for introducing the Liturgy of the Church of England." He was regularly appointed in 1712; and the papers of the Society afford material for an interesting monograph on this episode. See Riker's *Harlem*, 458, 459, 472.

CHAPTER XI.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR HUNTER.

Troublous Days for the Church—Points at Issue between the Governor and the Rector—Sacrilegious Invasion of the Parish Church—The Chapel in the Fort—Threatened Schism—Controversy about the Act for Maintaining the Ministry—Public Agitation—Projected Invasion of Canada—Intended Insurrection by the Negroes—Absurd Accusations against the Church—Plans of Mr. Vesey for Promoting Christian Education—Presentation of Plate by Queen Anne—Mr. Vesey compelled to go to England for Relief from Assaults of his Enemies—Accomplishes his Object and Returns in Triumph—Submission of the Governor—Mr. Vesey Appointed Commissary to the Bishop of London—Settlement of the Contest about the Chapel in the Fort—Story of the Indian Pow-wow at Stratford, and how it was Quelled by the Rector—Comment of the Puritan Party at his Success.

WHATEVER other troubles Mr. Vesey may have endured during his rectorship of nearly half a century, they were slight compared with those which befell him under the administration of Governor Hunter. For lack of full contemporaneous records, it is hard to ascertain the real reason for the quarrel between them ; but it was long and bitter ; it covered a wide range of affairs, personal, political, theological, and parochial ; and finally drove the rector to England, to obtain that favorable consideration of his case which it could not receive in New York. Many episodes of an unpleasant and exasperating nature were connected with this administration ; and this is the more to be deplored, because of Hunter's strong claims to respect and favorable regard. Beginning as an apothecary's apprentice, he left his master and entered the army, where he rose to honorable distinction, and ultimately married a lady of high rank. In 1707, having

now the grade of Colonel, he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia; but, on his way out, was made prisoner by a privateer, and carried back to Europe. He was next appointed Governor of New York and New Jersey, and, as such, superseded Ingoldsby in September, 1709. He was not only a soldier of merit and gallantry, but also a man of literary taste and culture, the associate of Swift, Addison, and other literary men of his time. But he seems to have been an indifferent Churchman, with the *penchant* for Dissenters which marked Lord Bellomont; moreover, he had an intense prejudice against the rector and Corporation of Trinity Church, founded on an impression that Mr. Vesey entertained an ill opinion of him before his arrival, which was probably the case, so that the troubles between him and the rector antedated the beginning of his administration.

Hunter's instructions were dated December 27th, and were accompanied by "Additional Instructions," making, together with his commission, a formidable mass of manuscript. In the instructions relating to ecclesiastical matters, the Church of England in New York is recognized as the established Church, a fact taken for granted in all the royal instructions from the beginning.

Upon the arrival of the Governor, June 16, 1710, the Wardens and Vestry presented him with an address drawn up in the usual complimentary style, referring to "the great and good character of your Excellency," which, with no great foresight, they say, presages "a happy and auspicious administration." They also say, "We are given to understand that amongst the many great benefits and bountys your Excellency brings along with you to this Province from her most Sacred Majesty is her Royal and particular gift to our church of a noble set of plate for our Communion Table, for which we are infinitely obliged to

her Majesty for that bounty." ¹ The Board afterwards "attended his Excellency at the Fort, where they were kindly received." ²

It is now in order to take up the points at issue between the Governor and the rector, and to remark upon some of the troubles which arose during this administration. The Church was growing steadily, but in the face of strong opposition, which sometimes took the form of dastardly outrages; the assaults on her might be classified under the heads of low brutality, secular interference, and dissenting jealousy. In the early part of the year 1713, a sacrilegious invasion of the parish church occurred. On the night of February 13th it was broken into and shockingly desecrated: vestments were torn to rags, service books scattered about, windows smashed, and beastly outrages were committed, of which decency prohibits a description. The account reminds us of the desecration of churches and cathedrals in England during the great Rebellion, and the circumstances indicate that the same spirit was at work in both cases. The outrages referred to were committed by individuals hostile to the rector, and to the religious system which he represented. In his petition to the Governor he speaks of their acts as evidently intended, from their peculiar character, to be "the greatest outrage and most Villanous indignity they cou'd offer to the Church of England and her holy Priesthood, & in defiance of God and all Religion." ³ The Vestry also, in their address, call it "a sacrilegious affront done to the Church of England

¹ "Resolved that Mr. Reimer, at the charge of the publick, be remitted a hogshhead of the best Maderia wine for his expense and trouble in soliciting for the Communion Plate of the Church." Records, i., 77. Also that "the Church Wardens purchase a piece of Holland for surplices for the use of the Church," and £22.6 was ordered to be paid for fencing the church yard, while Mr. Hobbs was to have five pounds "for working the model of the spire for the steeple."

² Records, i., 77.

³ *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, iii., 270.

and all Religion," and they further say, addressing her Majesty's Council :

"We beg leave to observe to yo^r Hon^{ble} Board, that notwithstanding his Excellencies Proclamation against Immorality & profaneness, the great diligence of the Magistracy of this City in their several Stations, there are some Busey mockers & scoffers of Religion, who Ridicule both sacred things & Orders by their profane Lampoons, thereby vilifying the Ministers of Christ & Exposing them and their Holy Function to Reproach & contempt; and it is with ye greatest Concern that we find these vices so Flagrant, that ye Innocent & unblameable Life & Conversation of our Reverend Rector for many Years among us, have not been able to Protect him from ye false Calumnies and Barbarous Reproaches & Threatenings of such Irreligious & wicked persons, which we humbly conceive hinders the Word of God, & naturally tends to Infidelity and Atheism."¹

The matter was taken up warmly by the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church and the Reformed Protestant French Church, both of which bodies expressed their cordial sympathy with the rector and Vestry of Trinity Church and their abhorrence of the sacrilege, and offered handsome rewards for the discovery of the perpetrators of the outrage. A proclamation was issued by the Governor for the discovery and conviction of the authors of "that impiety" in due course of law; but it does not appear that the Governor entered into the affair with much heart, and a contemporary writer, in a letter to General Nicholson, remarks that :

"His Excellency, notwithstanding the unexampled affront to religion, has neither sent, writ, nor spoke to Mr. Vesey, that I can learn, on this affair; so that you'll be pleased to judge, Sir, what favor or protection he is to hope for of our church by the treatment of our minister. I have always looked on Mr. Vesey to be a religious, good man; valuable to his parishioners and inoffensive in his conversation, and if a testimonial of this were required his parishioners in general would be desirous to do him justice."²

¹ *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, iii., 274.

² *Ibid.*, iii., 277.

11 The strife about the chapel in the Fort next deserves attention. When Governor Fletcher pulled down the old and dilapidated church which had stood there since the days of William Kieft, he built a chapel on its site, for the use of the garrison and the Governor and his family. After the new church was erected, this chapel, being no longer needed, was used as a storehouse for wood, a workhouse, a bear garden, and other like purposes, while the soldiers went on Sundays to the church, where their chaplain assisted the rector. Governor Hunter undertook the restoration of the chapel, refitted it, and directed the Chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Sharp, to hold services there for the garrison. Now, there chanced to be persons who, either because they could not find satisfactory accommodations in the church, or because they shared the Governor's dislike for Mr. Vesey, availed themselves of the garrison chapel, and took to going there regularly, much to the satisfaction of Governor Hunter, and greatly to their own, as they had no pew-rent to pay. Of this the rector complained and with justice, alleging that it involved the sin of schism, and defeated the intent of the act of incorporation, by which the parish was made co-extensive with the city, and that no chapel could be established without the consent of the Corporation of Trinity Church. It looks as if the Governor's idea, in his zealous restoration of the chapel, was to provide a place of worship for malcontents, beyond the direct jurisdiction of the rector, while the rector naturally regarded such a proceeding as calculated to rend and divide the Church.¹

¹ There is a considerable amount of literature on this vexed question, which the reader, if desirous to pursue the subject, may find in the *New York Colonial Documents*, v., 320, and the *Documentary History*, iii., 267. It includes letters from Hunter, Col. Lewis Morris, and others, and abounds in specimens of sharp controversial writing. There is plenty of evidence of a most unpleasant state of feeling between these dignitaries. In a letter addressed to the Bishop of London and dated March 1, 1712, the Governor, after repeating the old and stale charges that Mr. Vesey

Fresh difficulties arose on the subject of Church extension beyond the limits of the city. The Governor, it appears, had granted induction to the Church at Jamaica to the Rev. Mr. Poyer; the Dissenters, however, had possession of the manse house, and the collectors refused to pay him his stipend. The Governor desired Mr. Vesey to commence a suit against them, offering to pay all the costs; but for some reasons not ascertained the rector declined to co-operate with the Governor, as requested; and this was taken by him in such bad part, that he went so far as to say: "I believe there had at this time been a much better position, had there been no act in favour of the

was "formerly an independant Minister in New England," and accusing him of being in the front rank of a portion of the clergy dominated by "Faction, Pride, Malice and blind Zeal," proceeds to commend himself in high terms for Christian forbearance towards the rector and even for helping him to finish his steeple. *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, v., 311. In a letter addressed to John Chamberlayne, the Governor, referring to the *gravamen* of the chapel in the Fort, says:

"But to lay the Mistery of this Iniquity, for so it is, a little more open, the Reverend Person so often mentioned in whose eyes my best actions were crimes, took much exception at my putting in repair Her Majesty's Chappell in the Fort, & sent me by M. Sharp some messages about that matter, which for the reverence I bear his wholly function I choose not to repeat. When I first entered upon that design I acquainted him with it, and he made not then the least objection to it, which made those messages the more surprizing. I sent for him and reasoned with him on that head, from the Decency, Expediency and necessity of it, that Chappell being one of the Oldest Houses of Prayer in the place, tho' for some time past a Bear Garden, I urged that the Souldiers had no room nor place in the Church neither was it safe to march the Garrison so far from the Fort,¹ and that her Majesty paid a Chaplain for that particular purpose, and had graciously bestowed Plate, Books & other Furniture for the use of it, but all this served only to plunge him into a fit of Passion @ me into a deep astonishment. I referred him to the Right Rev^d the Lord Bishop of London; that most worthy Prelate in a letter to me enjoined me to bear with his Infirmities whilst he endeavored to set him right, which is the conduct I have hitherto nicely observed with relation to that Gentleman, he having received advice from my Lord of London declared to everybody he was blamed by that Bishop in everything or (in his own words) that he was cast in the Bishop's Court, but that if the Bishops of England were of the same opinion wth that noble Prelate, he would be of his own still but for the future would not meddle with the Chappel or any other of the Governors affairs."²

¹ The French ships were hanging near New York.

² *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, v., 315. See Col. Lewis Morris's defence of Hunter and blame thrown upon Mr. Vesey; also Hunter's address to clergy and their reply. *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, v., 318-329.

Church ; for in the Jerseys and Pennsylvania where there is no act there are four times the number of churchmen that there are in this Province of New York." From this expression an idea can be formed of the irreconcilable differences in the views on either side of this and similar ecclesiastical questions.

To proceed to another controverted question : that of the maintenance of the ministry in New York. The salary for the minister named in the Act of 1693 was provided for in that Act ; but there was always more or less difficulty in carrying out its provisions. A portion of the sum allowed to the rector, as his salary, was raised by taxation ; but another part came from the rents derived from the "Queen's Farm." Although the title of the Church to the property had been confirmed by Queen Anne, the Corporation felt anxiety on the subject, desiring, as appears from their Records, such further action as might stop all objection to the title, and silence envious malcontents. We have seen how, at Jamaica, the collectors refused to pay the clergyman at that place, though regularly inducted ; the same reluctance was exhibited from time to time in New York, with an evident disposition to nullify the Act on that point ; while many felt angry that the Church should be in possession of a property which might, in time, increase greatly in value, and would have gladly robbed her of her endowment and put the proceeds into their own pockets.

Here were causes enough to stir up bitter feelings and produce a situation which at last became intolerable ; until, as we shall see, the rector was forced into a determination to cross the ocean—then a perilous undertaking—in order to lay the matters in controversy before the home government, and to obtain redress, by a final settlement in favor of the Church.

In illustration of the relation between the fortunes of the Church and the state of public affairs, we may refer to the transactions of the year 1712. The time was one of intense excitement. An expedition had been made to undertake the conquest of Canada. General Nicholson was in command of a detachment which moved by the way of the lakes ; but no sooner had he reached Lake George with his 4,000 men than he learned the failure of a movement on Quebec, under General Hill. The conduct of affairs was such as to impress the Swedish traveller, Kalm, with the idea that England was not in earnest in the attempt to drive the French from the continent, as such a course, if successful, would render the Americans too powerful and dispose them towards assertion of independence of the mother country. The disastrous reverses which befell Nicholson and Hill plunged the inhabitants of New York into gloom. The Indians also were wavering in loyalty, and there were rumors of an attack by a French fleet. The Governor and the Assembly were at issue ; the former demanding means to carry on the government, the latter sullenly refusing them. It was at that time that rumors of an intended insurrection of the blacks began to be heard, and the whole community was agitated with unspeakable alarm. A murder, by blacks, on Long Island added to the terror ; and a riot followed, with an arrest of negroes, nineteen of whom were executed for alleged conspiracy to massacre the whites. The panic-stricken populace made this the occasion of a demonstration against the unfortunate Neau, who had been diligently engaged in teaching the blacks ; and his school was nearly broken up by the useless and absurd accusation, that to instruct the negro was to make him dangerous. Mr. John Sharp, the Chaplain to the Forces, wrote on this subject to the Secretary of the S. P. G. as follows :

" This barbarous conspiracy of the negroes, which was first thought of to be general, opened the mouths of many against Negro's being made Christians. Mr. Neau durst hardly appear. His school was blamed as the main occasion of it, and a petition had like to have been presented if the Governor had not stood to his cause. Amongst all those that suffered there were but two that had been of his school, one of which only was baptized, and he was condemned on slender evidence in the heat of the people's resentment. I saw him suffer and heard him declare his innocency with his dying breath ; and then, but too late for him, he was pitied and proclaimed innocent by the generality of the people. The other of the Catechumens was slave to an eminent Merchant, one Hendrick Hooghlands, who was murdered. He had for two years solicited his master for leave to be baptized, but could not obtain it. He was certainly in the conspiracy but was hanged in Chains for the murder of his master. After his hanging three days I went to him and exhorted him to confession. He said he knew of the Conspiracy but was not guilty of any bloodshed in the tumult. The cry against Catechizing the negro's continued, till upon conviction they were found to be such as never frequented Mr. Neau's School, and what is very observable, the persons whose Negro's were found guilty are such as are declared opposers of Christianizing negro's." ¹

A memorandum without name, but probably written by Mr. Vesey, on this same subject, runs as follows :

" The late barbarous Massacre attempted by the negroes, April 6th, 1712, gave strength to this clamour (that Christianity made them worse), which had a full run for many days. The school was immediately Charged as the Cause of the Mischief, the place of conspiracy, and that instruction made them Cunning and insolent. All that were known to favour this design were reproached, and the flagitious villany was imputed to the Catechumens ; yet upon the strictest inquiry and severest tryal, (where the bare affirmation of Infidel evidences, who are not Capable of any other tye to veracity was sufficient to fix the guilt) there were not any found, either Actors or Accomplices in the Conspiracy who had attended the Catechetical instruction, but two were accused, one of which had been formerly baptised and dyed protesting his innocence, and was, but too late for him, pitied & declared guiltless even by the Prosecutors. The other had made some proficience but was not admitted to Baptism thro' the reluctance of his Master whom he had often Solicited for it." ²

¹ N. Y. Genl. Conv. MSS., i., 376.

² *Ibid.*, i., 119.

It is interesting to see how history repeats itself. A hundred and fifty years after the time of which we are now reading, during the Draft Riots in the City of New York, on the evening of July 15, 1863, the rector of Trinity Parish, who was then residing in the rectory, No. 50 Varick Street, received notice that the mob had made arrangements to attack St. John's Chapel during that night, the reason assigned being that a Sunday-school for negroes was held at that chapel. Word was sent to headquarters, and a troop of cavalry came down and stood on guard all night in the lane just back of the rectory garden. Again the murderers' spirit was afire, and again the innocent negro was the intended victim.

In connection with this subject reference may be made to the earnestness of the Church in the work of education. In the New York General Convention Manuscripts, under the date of March 11, 1712, there is a memorandum, probably from the rector, of a plan to obtain for the provinces, during his stay in England, three greatly desired things :

1st, a public school, 2dly, a public library, and 3dly, a catechising chapel. The proponent sets forth that it is usual to send children from Esopus and Albany to New York to be educated and taught English. A door is thus opened to spread the teachings of the Church among those people by teaching their children Latin, and giving them an academical education ; the first thing is to find a competent person to instruct them. For the location of this school he deems New York to be the most desirable place, where Dutch, French, and Hebrew can be learned, there being a synagogue for the Jews, and many ingenious men of that race from Poland, Hungary, and Germany. The school-house should be large enough to accommodate 150 pupils and have a wall around it. On one side of the area should be a lodging for the schoolmaster, and a kitchen ;

and on the other side a furnished lodging-room for the clergy when they come out of the country to the city ; over this a room for a public library. He proposes that "there should be daily prayer used in the morning and night taken out of the public form of the Church and adapted to the use of the school, and to be recited by the master with gravity and devotion," and two chapters, morning and night, to be read by the scholars ; and on Holy Days they are to meet and go to church in a body, and in the afternoon of the same day an hour at school to be spent in catechetical exercises. He goes on to speak of Mr. Neau's work, saying that it is done under great difficulties. The masters of the negroes oppose their becoming Christians, believing that it would be the first step towards their freedom, and that Christianity tended to make them worse, rather than better. The only time allowed for their instruction is Wednesdays, Fridays, and Sundays, after church, the hours being usually after twilight, after hard labor during the day. The place in the upper floor of Mr. Neau's own house, which is not large enough to accommodate the sixth part of the negroes and Indian slaves that desired to be taught ; and for that reason a catechising chapel is proposed.¹

These plans were probably those of Mr. Vesey. The subsequent history of education in connection with the parish and elsewhere in the State of New York, shows how well they have been carried out. Columbia College, Hobart College, the New York Protestant Episcopal Public School, commonly known as "Trinity School," the Society for Promoting Religion and Learning in the State of New York, and the existing system of Parochial Schools, including Kindergartens, Cooking School, Manual Training School, and Night-Schools, are the result of ideas held

¹ N. Y. Genl. Conv. MSS., i., 109-125.

among us from the first by those in authority in the parish.

We may now return to the Vestry Records, gleaning from them as before.

Due acknowledgment is made to "the Queen's most excellt Majesty" that of her "princely bounty she had furnished & adorned the Sacred alter of our Church with such a magnificent Set of Plate." They thank her, likewise, for "authorising his Excellency Genl Fra : Nichollson to Inspect into and represent the affairs of the Church and State here," and inform her that "the Corporation are now prosecuted in the Court of Chancy in this Province in your Majestys name," the Letters Patents for the Farm being now "disputable," praying that the suit may be stopped. Respecting the Episcopate they say :

"We conceive it to be highly necessary for securing the Establishment of the Church in these Provinces and Enlarging her Borders that the Ecclesiasticall Government according to the Apostolic fform and order should be establisht among us in like manner as in England & Ireland. We therefore become humble suppliants to your Majesty that you will be graciously pleased to Establish Bishops who may reside among us to govern the Church to Ordain some, Confirm others and bless all in our Redeemer's Name which we doubt not (by the blessing of God) will be the most sure and effectual means to propagate Religion and Sound Doctrine and preserve the Church in Unity and Peace."¹

They added a letter to the Bishop of London to the same effect.

It is interesting to read these extracts, showing the wisdom of the Corporation in perceiving the need of the Episcopal Order in the province, and their earnestness in doing what lay in their power to obtain it. The denial of bishops to the Church in the Colonies was the crying sin of the English Government at that day ; the grounds of the opposition to the measure are well known : the ex-

¹ Records, i., 93.

aggerated notions of its effect, the furious threats, the doleful predictions uttered by the enemies of the Church on the subject ; and the steady perseverance, invincible logic, and touching terms in which the friends of the Church urged the matter upon the people at home. It is good to know that on this crucial question our predecessors were on the side of order and right : though they had to wait till after the Revolution before obtaining their desire.

By the beginning of the year 1714, the aspect of affairs had grown so threatening that it was decided that the rector should go to England for the purpose of securing relief. The feeling against the Church, fomented by those who should have maintained her cause, ran high in radical quarters, and even expressed itself, as we have seen, in sacrilegious outrages too disgusting and filthy to be described. The time had evidently come when an effort must be made to protect and defend the Church from her foes, and arrangements were made for the voyage of Mr. Vesey across the sea. On this point he consulted the Bishop of London, who approved his course. The Vestry ordered that "the seal of the Corporation be affixed to the copy of the patent and to such minutes of the Board as it should be thought proper to send in to England on this occasion," and that "the Church Warden do deliver the Committee the minutes."¹ At this time also provision was made for a supply of preachers for Trinity Church during the absence of the rector. Mr. Poyer of Jamaica, with Mr. Talbot and others, were invited to preach in the parish.²

Governor Hunter appears to have been sanguine in the belief that Mr. Vesey's mission would prove a failure.³

¹ Records, i., 94, 95.

² See Dr. Berrian's *Historical Sketch of Trinity Church*, 335.

³ *Docs. relating to the Col. History of New Jersey*, iv., 1709, 1720, p. 216.

The City Vestry took occasion of his absence to note that "it is the opinion of this Board that the warrant for the last Quarter's Salary to Mr. Vesey be not signed by the Justices till further order, by reason of his not officiating, and having left his cure without liberty." Some light is thrown upon the departure of Mr. Vesey by Governor Hunter, who, writing November 14, 1715, quotes from a letter by the Rev. Mr. Talbot, then at Burlington, and dated July 17, 1714, in which, addressing a Virginia correspondent, that clergyman says, with reference to himself: "Your Friend Jonathan is not fallen before the Philistins," but

"Bro' Vesey y^e Rector of Trinity Church at New York is fled before the Philistins. He has gott the Generals [Nicholson] letters 'tis now 3 weeks ago since he Sail'd, God Speed him well and then No More Need go upon that account Now there's no Minister of our Church at New York but we serve it by turns next month I shall be there, meanwhile I have Enough to do to Keep the peace of the Churches at Philad^a and New York we have so many Adversarys without and within." ¹

In another letter, written the same day, he says: "Mr. Vesey is fled for Persecution from New York So that church is destitute at present, only the Missionarys serve it by Turns." ² Hunter clearly did not tell the whole of his own side of the story, and at this period seemed resolved to oppose the rector of Trinity Church by the use of all the means in his power.

The details of Mr. Vesey's visit to England are not now accessible. It is known, however, that he remained longer than he intended, that he fell ill in London, and that he incurred unexpected charges which fell heavily upon him. The Propagation Society came to his assistance, voting a sum of money for his relief. His salary was withheld during his absence, and the City Vestry refused to

¹ *N. Jersey Col. Docs.*, iv., 224.

² *Ibid.*, iv., 225.

pay it on his return; this may have been the work of his political enemies; there is no means of ascertaining how far the members of the Dutch and French Churches were concerned in influencing the City Vestry, or whether they influenced that Vestry at all.¹

Mr. Vesey returned to New York in the early part of November, 1715. His success was complete. Not only did he secure all that he set forth to obtain, but he came back with the added dignity and powers of Commissary of the Bishop of London. His triumph was the more signal, as being won in the face of the strongest representations that Hunter and his following knew how to make. The Governor raged and stormed for a time; he railed at Mr. Vesey in the old style as a Jacobite and disloyal to the Crown; he assailed the Rev. Mr. Talbot also, and complained of "a plott Laid and measures concerted between Mr. Talbot, Mr. Vesey and Mr. Nicolson for my utter ruine,"² but nothing further could be done. It was evident that the rector, whatever may have been his temper during certain stages of the controversy, had the confidence of the ecclesiastical authorities, and that he had gained a signal victory.

November 15, 1715, Mr. Vesey presented a letter from

¹ For further information on the treatment of Mr. Vesey by this body, and on his successful prosecution of his claim against them, see Berrian's "Sketch," 328-337. Colonel Heathcote, writing to the Lord Bishop of Bristol on Feb. 25, 1718, on the subject of the withholding of Mr. Vesey's salary, says of him: "he has for 17 years past, with an unwearied diligence and steady application, an exemplary life & excellent good preaching, settled & brought together, one of the finest congregations in America, . . . and has for a long succession of time rec^d his sallery without being disputed, yet the town Vestry refuses the paying of it, & will neither give him what's due for past service, & in their hands, nor raise any more, but take upon them to declare the Living vacant because he went to Great Britain to represent the state of his Church, without their leave & acquainting them with the nature of his business, & notwithstanding he had the approbation of my L^d of London for what he did, and effectual care was taken in having his parish duly supply'd during his absence, they do yet remain obstinate & he is kept out of his money." (N. Y. Genl. Convention MSS., i., 505.)

² See *New Jersey Col. Docs.*, iv., 220, 225.

Johannes permissione Divina London Episcopus dilecto Nobis in Christo
Guillelmo Vesei, in Archiepiscopio, Ecclesia Parochiali, sacrosancta & Individua Trinitatis
in Christo. Quodcumque agitur Americanis Ecclesiis, statum in Domino. Cum Nobis pro Munere
que surgunt Episcopali incumbat, ut inter eos, qui vestra cura committuntur, quantum in Nobis est,
Christianam Religionem sola tota conservetur, gravem non corrigatur, & Liber & Liberet, que ad Forum
Religionis spectant, iuxta Regis Magnae Britanniae, Carolus Ecclesia Anglicana & Angli
organizatione de deo datus, &c. Guillelmo Vesei, cuius libertas et libertas plenam, conf-
sant. Conspicimus vestrum in & per totam Americanam Nobis. Verum, gratia, Nobis. Conspicimus
in America facere, & consilium per propter: Et Concedimus tibi potestatem omnia et singula
per te, circa praesentia, qua de viro vel consuetudine fieri possint, aut debeant, Ceterum Ecclesi-
astica pro factis. Qualitate impingendo remittendo, una cum potestate Surrogatum vel Surrogatos
constituendi, quibus tibi per voluntatem adveniam, vel alia Regia ab eo contigerit: Exceptis
tamen Imper, Reservatione, Live Appropriatione, Totalementum et Vacantibus pro Rationi. Melioramentis
Alia. Reservationi. Totalementum ab. Totalementum decedendum, & Vacantibus cum Rationi. Melioramentum. In
vacantibus; Recurre. Collatione Live. Implicatione ad. Beneficia cum Rationi. Melioramentum. In
Quorum omnium et singulorum Totalementum & Totalementum hunc praesentis Litteras Nobis. Totalementum
vacantibus. Totalementum & singulorum Nobis. Episcopali, apponit. Totalementum. Totalementum
quodlibet. Totalementum. Anno Domini. Totalementum. Totalementum. Totalementum. Totalementum
quodlibet. Totalementum. Totalementum. Totalementum. Totalementum. Totalementum. Totalementum

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the Bishop of London addressed to the Board, in which that prelate says: "I have considered Mr. Vesey's Affairs and hope have settled everything both to his and your satisfaction. I have only farther to recommend to you to be at Peace Among your Selves and to forget all former differences as becometh Christians."

Mr. Vesey at this meeting acquainted the Vestry that he had "obtained his Majesty's gracious letter to his Excellency Collo. Hunter to cause the Justices of the Peace and vestery men of the City of New York to issue their warrant to the church wardens of the city to pay his salary." This mandate, dated August 19, 1715, recites that Mr. Vesey was "obliged about a year ago to come to this our Kingdom of Great Britain in order to settle the Affairs of his Church," and as already stated he was prevented by a "long sickness & other Incidents . . . from returning so soon as he Intended."¹ It further recites:

That the Justices and Vestrymen refused to issue the warrants on the "pretence of his not officiating and leaving his Cure without Liberty, though by his particular Care and by the Approbation and Appointment of the Right Reverend Father in God John Bishop of London, it hath been duly supplied during his absence."² The City Vestry, therefore, had nothing to do under the circumstances but to obey.

A letter of thanks was despatched to the Bishop of London, thanking him "for his care in supporting the rights of our Church, particularly in appointing Mr. Vesey Commissary in this & the neighboring provinces & other favours." They also congratulate Mr. Vesey upon his appointment, and thank him for his faithful service.³

¹ Records, i., 96, 97.

² *Ibid.*, i., 97.

³ *Ibid.* Also ordered, December 6, 1715, "that the Clerk of the Vestry do not deliver copys of any minutes or Transactions of the Vestry without directions for soe doing from the Rector or Church wardens."

"In all these struggles with Hunter," says Dr. De Costa, in a MS. in possession of the author, after a minute examination of all the evidence on both sides, "there is no sign of disaffection with the Rector in Trinity Parish, though the Governor imagined that all 'sober' churchmen and 'men of figure' in the place were violently opposed to Mr. Vesey. The men who followed Hunter seemed to have been the men who went with him to the chapel in the Fort, and made it a boast that they sat in the free benches with all comers, pretending that the pew-rents in church were excessive, and that there was no room; whereas the object seems to have been to raise up a less positive school of churchmanship than that represented by Mr. Vesey, and to form a temporizing party. At all events their action has ever been used by those persons who have set themselves against the Church in New York, both in the early and later periods, and who have drawn upon their statements to injure the reputation of Mr. Vesey."

It should be kept constantly in remembrance that the enemies of the Church have not only used the document drawn up against Mr. Vesey by Governor Hunter and his friends, but that they have also used the cancelled parts of the said documents, disregarding the fact of cancellation, and attaching no weight to the fact that, after having been read and considered by the ecclesiastical authorities and their advisers in England, they were thrown out as failing to make a case against Mr. Vesey and the Corporation. Such use of exploded partisan charges is unworthy of honorable controversialists; and yet it has continued to our own day.

The position of Mr. Vesey was now greatly strengthened, as he stood in the relation of Commissary to the Bishop of London. The Governor submitted with what grace he could, and during the rest of that administration there was peace. In the affair of the chapel in the Fort, a happy solution of the difficulty seems to have been reached. The Rev. Mr. Jenney was assistant at Trinity Church, but on August 25, 1716, he informed the Wardens and Vestrymen that the Society for the Propagation of

the Gospel had resolved not to continue him in that position longer than March 6th following, as they had decided to dismiss all assistants from their service. In this emergency the Governor offered to give him the position of chaplain at the Fort, with permission to assist Mr. Vesey so far as he could, without prejudice to the duties of the chaplaincy. The proposal was accepted with much pleasure, and thus the trouble was brought to an end. Mr. Jenney was to read service at the chapel on Wednesdays and Fridays, with an occasional Sunday morning service; and on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays to officiate in Trinity Church, and also in the afternoon, whenever he was at the chapel of a Sunday morning. The Governor had given up attending the services at the Fort, which were now held for the benefit of the garrison only, and was going regularly to the parish church, with great propriety and decorum; and so that contest ended in peace.¹

There is a very funny story, which, though perhaps apocryphal, may be brought in here without apology, as showing that the fame of Mr. Vesey had extended beyond the bounds of his own bailiwick. For the greater entertainment of the reader, I give it in full, quite safe in saying, "*Se non è vero è ben trovato.*" The legend runs thus:

"An ancient religious rite called the Powwow was annually celebrated by the Indians, and commonly lasted several hours every night for two or three weeks. About 1690 they convened to perform it on Stratford Point, near the town. During the nocturnal ceremony, the English saw, or imagined they saw, devils rise out of the sea, wrapped up in sheets of flame, and flying around the Indian camp, while the Indians were screaming, cutting and prostrating themselves before their supposed fiery gods. In the midst of the tumult, the devils darted in among them, seized several, and mounted with them in the

¹ See Records, i., 112, 113, where Mr. Jenney's letters on the subject are entered in full; also, for sketch of Jenney, see Sprague's *Annals*, v., 16.

air, the cries and groans issuing from them quieted the rest. In the morning the limbs of Indians, all shrivelled and covered with sulphur, were found in different parts of the town. Astonished and terrified at these spectacles, the people of Stratford began to think the devils would take up their abode among them, and called together all the ministers in the neighbourhood to exorcise and lay them.

"The ministers began, and carried on their warfare with prayer, hymns and abjurations ; but the powwows continued and the devils would not obey. The inhabitants were about to quit the town, when Mr. Nell spoke and said, 'I would to God, Mr. Visey, the episcopal minister at New-York, was here ; for he would expel those evil spirits.' They laughed at his advice ; but on his reminding them of the little maid who directed Naaman to cure his leprosy, they voted him their permission to bring Mr. Visey at the next powwow. Mr. Visey attended accordingly, and as the powwow commenced with howling and whoops, Mr. Visey read portions of the holy scriptures, litany, etc. The sea was put into great commotion, the powwow stopped ; the Indians dispersed and never more held a powwow in Stratford. The inhabitants were struck with wonder at this event, and held a conference to discover the reason why the devils and the powwowwers had obeyed the prayers of one minister and had paid no regard to those of fifty. Some thought the reading of the holy scriptures, others thought that the litany and Lord's prayer, some again that the episcopal power of the minister, and others that all united were the means of obtaining the heavenly blessing they had received. Those that believed that the holy scriptures and litany was effectual against the devil and his legions, declared for the Church of England ; *while the majority ascribed their deliverance to complot between the devils and the episcopal minister with a view to overthrow Christ's vine planted in New-England.*"¹

¹ Rev. Saml. Peters's *History of Connecticut*, 164.

CHAPTER XII.

ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNORS BURNET AND MONTGOMERY.

Arrival of Burnet—His Marriage—His Love of Books—Vesey's Account of Church Affairs in New York—Rev. James Wetmore Appointed Catechist—Bradford's *Gazette*—Rev. Mr. Colgan Appointed at Trinity Church—Montgomery Succeeds Burnet, April 15, 1728—Earthquake—Map of the City Published by Bradford—Petty Theft in the Parish Church—Gift of Books—Death of Montgomery, June 30, 1731.

ON the 19th of July, 1719, Governor Hunter's administration ended, and on the 19th of April, 1720, it was announced in London that William Burnet, son of the Bishop of Salisbury, had been designated by the King as Governor of New York and New Jersey. Before the arrival of the new Governor, the necessary functions were performed by Peter Schuyler as President of the Council.¹ Governor Burnet arrived at Amboy, N. J., September 16th, and on the following day published his commission in New York. His instructions were similar to those of his immediate predecessor.²

During this administration, the Church and rector were in amicable relations with the civil authority. The Governor attended the services regularly, gave a suitable measure of his time to the transaction of public business, and spent the rest of it among his books, of which he had a great number, and in which he took delight, like an honest bibliophile. After all that we have read of disagreeable and vexatious in the career of Hunter, Bellomont,

¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, v., 537.

² *Ibid.*, v., 541, and *N. Jersey Col. Docs.*, S. I., v., 1.

and others, it is most refreshing to meet with this worthy and cultivated gentleman.

The year after his arrival in New York he married a Miss Van Horne, and in 1727 he removed to Massachusetts, having been appointed Governor of that province. Dunlap says that

"Burnet was free from the vices of his military predecessors ; he was not infected by the petty pride derived from a red coat and laced epaulettes ; neither had he the desire to accumulate money. . . . His conversation was the delight of men of letters ; and he carried little with him but the love of his associates *and his books*. There were some who thought the higher of him, that he inherited a portion of his father's propensity to the study of divinity, and valued him for (that which produced a smile of derision in others) his exposition of the prophecies."¹

Mr. Vesey's relations with him were amicable, especially as the former had had his fill of contention with the

¹ *History of the New Netherlands*, i., 290, 291. Upon Burnet's death at Boston, 1728, the *Gazette* of that city had a most appreciative notice, September 15th, and said, "His Library which was his chief delight and pride is one of the noblest and richest collections that America has seen." Regarding his interest in the Collections of New York City we have a letter written by Burnet in New York, May 30, 1723, in which, addressing the Secretary of the Venerable Society, he mentions, among other things, that Chaplain Sharp wants to be paid for his donation of books made some years before. He says : "I have yours of the 15th June and 30th August last and at the Venerable Societys desire I have reced the Books that were in Mr. Neaus hands and find some wanting and some that are not in the Society's Catalogue of what Mr. Sharpe gave. There is another parcel of Books left by Mr. Sharpe with another person which I shall have brought to me and if there are any among them mentioned in the Society's Catalogue I will take care of them as they desire till such an Act of Assembly can be passed as is conformable to the Act of Parliament transmitted to me it will take some time to bring the Assembly into the notion of a Public Library but when I have found means to make some addition to this Gift of Mr. Sharpes I will endeavor to establish a public Library and to get to secure it, Mr. Orem has been at the pains to make a new Catalogue and when I can get the new parcel I will give you a further account of the condition of the Books. I hear that Mr. Sharpe has writt to several persons here that he is very poor and that he wants those books to get a little money to subsist on, if so I believe the Society will think it reasonable to make him some gratification in consideration of his present if he is now reduced to a state of misery." N. Y. Gen. Con. MSS., i., 602. See List of his Books and Proposals for Erecting a School, Library, and Chapel at New York. *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1880, p. 339-363.

royal authorities, while public officers themselves had learned that Mr. Vesey was not a man to be overlooked or ill-treated with impunity.

An address in the usual form was presented to Governor Burnet, September 27, 1720, in which the Wardens and Vestry say that

"it is with pleasure and gratitude we reflect on the early instances of his Majesty's paternal care to the Established Church at his first accession to the Throne and which he has been graciously pleased to continue to our Infant Church here in your Excellency whose Descent from an eminent Prelate of our own Church and your excellencys pious education and virtues give us the greatest expectations of protection and countenance in the enjoyment of all our religious rights,"¹

in all of which they were by no means disappointed.

A letter of Mr. Vesey, written in 1722 in reply to a set of questions sent to him by the Bishop of London, presents a good view of the state of the parish. The rector, after giving the date of his ordination and of his licence, and speaking of the regularity of his ministrations, says, "the extent of my parish is 14 miles in length and in it are supposed to be 1600 Familys of English Dutch and Jews." There were also "1362 Indian and Negro Slaves, and for their Conversion the honourable Society appointed a catechist to instruct them in the principles of Christianity." He adds, "Many of them frequent our church and have been baptised, and some of them admitted to the Lord's Table." Services were held "every Sunday, holiday, Wednesday and Friday in the year. Divine service is performed in the Church, and the members of the Church ordinarily attend it, and on Sundays there is a great congregation." "The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper," he continues, is administered "once in six weeks, and the usual number of Communicants is One hundred and up-

¹ Records, i., 122.

wards, but on the three great festivals Christmas, Easter & Whitsuntide more than two hundred." He says that he gave his personal attention to catechising the youth in church on Sundays, until the Society appointed a Catechist, and that work was done by Mr. Wetmore, whose labors were "attended with great success." All things, he said, were duly provided for the decent and orderly performance of divine service, while the value of the living was a hundred and sixty pounds of New York money, "lev'd by Act of Assembly on the inhabitants of this city, and put into the hands of the Church wardens who pay the same to me by warrant quarterly, and it amounts to near £100 sterling." He had no house or glebe, but the rental of the farm afforded a sum of twenty-six pounds annually, which was to be made a special payment until the parish could provide him "a convenient dwelling house." He also gives a brief account of the parish school under Mr. Huddleston, who taught forty poor children; while he reports as under his care a "small parochial library," which, though he had never received any particular orders concerning it, was nevertheless carefully preserved.

May 14, 1724, a committee was appointed "to inspect into the Boundaries of the Church's ffarme and Endeavor to find out what Encroachments have been made thereon and by whom and that they make their report thereof to this Board in a month."¹

The watchful guardians of the Church's estate, on May 31, 1724, reported that they had seen the deeds of persons supposed to have encroached upon the "Church ffarme," but find that no encroachment had taken place.²

At a meeting of the Vestry held August 21, 1724, a letter from the Venerable Society was read, in reply to

¹ Records, i., 132.

² *Ibid.*, i., 133.

the communication sent by the parish December 18, 1722 ; it gave the intelligence that the Rev. James Wetmore had been appointed Catechist in the place of Mr. Neau, and that he was to assist Mr. Vesey "in his parochial duties." This gentleman was the son of Ezraiah Wetmore of Middletown, Conn., where he was born Dec. 25, 1695. He graduated at Yale in 1714, became a Congregational minister, and was settled over a church at North Haven. In 1721, declaring his adhesion to the Church of England, he went to London, and was there ordained in 1723, returning immediately to New York. The Society, in announcing his appointment, adds that it expects that the parish will make "a sufficient allowance for his decent and Commodious support," in accordance with its engagement. Secretary Humphreys wrote Mr. Vesey to the same effect, saying that he had notified Mr. Wetmore, who probably would soon wait upon him. The Society had also appointed Mr. Huddleston Schoolmaster. This was followed by the reading of a letter addressed to Mr. Wetmore by the Secretary. It was thereupon ordered that the subscription paper now before this Board and subscribed by the most of them be "carried round to the Inhabitants of this City to receive their subscriptions towards supporting the said Mr. Wetmore." ¹

This matter being happily adjusted, we pass on over a period of nearly two years without finding anything that demands special notice. The enlargement of the church seems to have been attended with great satisfaction : whether the services were suspended during the enlargement, the Records do not say.

About this time, however, the local news began to appear in print. In the year 1725, Mr. Bradford began his

¹ Records, i., 134.

weekly publication, *The Gazette*.¹ His gleanings, however, were scanty, and down to 1730 there is little or no reference to any of the religious affairs of New York. The foreign news, however, was given very fully; arriving and departing ships were reported; Mr. Bradford had for sale some "very good coffee"; there is "a Negro man and Negro boy to be sold, also the house commonly called the Dancing House," which Mr. John Barberie wants to dispose of; while another negro wearing a "Cinnament coloured Waistcoat," and speaking Dutch, is called for by his master.

At a meeting held June 24, 1726, the Board was notified by the Rev. Mr. Wetmore that he had been called to be the minister at Rye, in the room of the Rev. Mr. Jenny, who had been sent to Hempstead, and that with the approval of the parish, he would accept the position at Rye, as it gave him "more certain support and maintenance for himself and Family."²

July 1, following, the Board voted to address the Society respecting the appointment of a successor to Mr. Wetmore. They also voted to "pay Mr. Thomas Noxon for carrying a letter to Stratford to the Reverend Mr. Samuel Johnson"; but they do not say what the letter referred to, though possibly it related to some plan then in view for securing him as Assistant in the parish, which many years later, in connection with his duties as President of the college, he ably served.

July 3, 1726, Mr. Vesey reported a draft of a letter he had prepared to be forwarded to the Society in support of the request for an Assistant in the place of Mr. Wetmore, which he says is necessary on the ground of there

¹ The New York Society Library has the only known file of the *Gazette* between March 21, 1726 and November 17, 1729. The Lenox Library has the best file after 1729.

² Records, i.,/39.

being "about One thousand and four Hundred Indian and Negro slaves, and the number daily increasing by Births and Importations from Guiney and other parts."

He goes on to say :

"A considerable number of these Negroes by the Society's charity have been already instructed in the principles of Christianity, have received holy Baptism, are communicants of our Church and frequently approach the Alter : We doubt not but that the Society has received from Mr. Neau their former Cathechist repeated accounts of the great success of his mission. And since Mr. Wetmore's appointment we have with great pleasure observed on Sundays upwards of an hundred English children and Negro servants attending him in the Church and their Catechetical Instructions being ended singing of Psalms and praising God with great devotion."

Mr. Vesey again refers to his "declining age," and the need of "a good English preacher of such a clear audible voice as may reach our large Church and the ears of the numerous hearers." An "afternoon sermon" by such a preacher he considered absolutely necessary "in this populous city, a place of considerable trade and resort and the center of America." If such a pious and learned man "has an inclination to teach a Latin School he will also find a very good account in the discharge of his duty." He adds that "were it possible for the Society to have a perfect view of this Infant Church planted among many different nations & several meeting houses," there would be a large increase of interest in the work.¹

This appeal was accompanied by a letter to the Bishop of London styled "the Great Shepherd and Bishop of these American Churches." It was also ordered that Mr. Vesey join with the wardens in writing to "some friend in England to solicit their letters to the society and the Bishop of London."

¹ Records, i., 142. Five guineas were afterward paid to Thomas Moon, Under Secretary of the Society, for this service. *Ibid.*, i., 149.

On the 4th of September it was announced

"that the Society had been pleased to appoint and send over the Rev. Mr. Colgan for the Parish of Rye into which the said Mr. Wetmore had already been called and inducted ; and that inasmuch as he was willing and desirous to officiate in said parish until the Society's further pleasure should be known therein, he and Mr. Colgan had agreed that Mr. Colgan should officiate in Trinity Church in his stead untill such time as they should receive farther orders from the Society ; and the said Mr. Colgan also appearing before this Board and declaring his assent thereto it was consented to and approved of accordingly, and it was thereupon ordered that a letter be writt to the Venerable Society desiring them to appoint the said Mr. Colgan to officiate here in the stead of Mr. Wetmore if they had not already been pleased to appoint some other person,"

while a subscription paper was to be "carried about for Mr. Colgan."¹

October 17, a letter to the Society was reported, and ordered to be sent ; in which it was stated that Mr. Wetmore was much desired at Rye, having been "born in the country and best acquainted with their temper," and besides, could not be soe well heard and understood in our large Church." Still further "we are not sure of raising a sufficient support for his family * * whereas Mr. Colgan's clear distinct and loud voice can reach the remotest hearers in the church where he has read divine Service and preached with great applause."²

November 14, 1726, a subscription paper in favor of Mr. Colgan was reported, while it was voted that persons who had subscribed to the building of the church might have the amount allowed in connection with the purchase of pews.

It was also resolved that the Wardens wait upon the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen of the City, and acquaint them "that the vestry will readily appropriate either the

¹ *Ibid.*, i., 144.

² *Ibid.*, 145.

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pew in the East Gallery in which the former Mayors used to sitt or the pew in the West Gallery of the Church in which his Excellency the Governor lately satt, for the use of their Corporation.”¹

November 21, the petition for the appointment of Mr. Colgan being not yet granted, the Wardens and Vestry made the request that when the minister of Rye came to town he might have “the liberty of reading prayers and preaching in the afternoon,” which request Mr. Vesey readily granted.²

The people were evidently more and more pleased with Mr. Colgan, and continued efforts were made to obtain his appointment to the parish. This persistence had the desired effect, and, April 11, 1727, a letter was read in the Board, announcing the appointment of Mr. Colgan; so that this matter was finally settled.

A change now occurred in the government of the Provinces, John Montgomery taking the place of Governor Burnet. His commission as Governor of New York and New Jersey bore date October 4, 1727; he reached New York, April 15, 1728. The records of his administration contain little of importance to the Church; it was terminated by his death, June 30, 1731. It is memorable however, for the new Charter granted to the City, and referred to by his name. The customary address is found on the Church Records, congratulating the new official on his safe arrival, and referring to his “noble descent, personal merit, and great abilities,” in the usual lofty style.

In the autumn before Montgomery's arrival the country was dreadfully alarmed by an earthquake.

The news from Boston, November 13, 1727, says: “The late dreadful earthquake [Oct. 29] was felt at Guilford, in Connecticut Colony, 160 miles from this place, where it

¹ Records, i., 146.

² *Ibid.*, i., 146.

was so violent that it shook down a chimney, threw open the door of the minister's house. * * * The shock lasted about a minute. A considerable town in this Province has been so awakened by this awful providence that the women have generally laid by their hoop petticoats." Another earthquake took place November 18, 1755, which was felt all over the Province of New York. On that same day Lisbon was destroyed.

The map of the City of New York as it was at the time of the granting of the Montgomery Charter, is a document of great value and interest. It was made from an actual survey by James Lyne, about the year 1728, and dedicated to Governor Montgomery by William Bradford, the publisher. This is the earliest known map of the City. Mr. William Loring Andrews, in a volume printed at the De Vinne Press, 1893, has given a fac-simile of the map with much information relating to the City at that period. There are only three streets between Trinity Church and the Fort, and four to the north ending with Windmill Lane. Beyond that appears the King's Farm stretching away to the northward and west of the Common. In the left-hand top corner of this map are the Governor's arms, with an inscription running thus :

"To His Excellency JOHN MONTGOMERIE, Esq., Cap^t Gen^l & Gov^r in Chief of His Majesti's Provinces of NEW YORK, NEW IERSEY, etc. : This Plan of the City of NEW YORK is humbly Dedic^d by Your Excellency's obe^t and most humble serv^t W^m BRADFORD."

In the right-hand corner at the top are the arms of the City of New York with the name of Colonel Robert Lutting, Mayor. The "Ledge of Rocks," the "Swamp," the "Collect," and other noted features of the town are all shown in their places. The Collect Pond was very deep ; on its waters was tested the steamboat constructed by

John Fitch and exhibited in 1796 ; the vessel was afterwards left to decay on the shore of the pond. A view of this boat is given in *N. Y. Doc. Hist.*, ii., 602.

At this period New York was supplied not only with all sorts of nationalities, but all kinds of coin. May 25, 1728, Mr. John Chambers, one of the members, "brought into the vestry a parcell of brass and mixt money which he found among the papers that were in Mr. Bickley's custody while he was a church warden, and Captain Robinson also at the same time brought in a small parcell of the like sort of money." Whereupon it was ordered that Mr. Soumaine "be desired to melt the same down and abstract the silver thereout for the use of the Church."¹

On reaching the year 1730 Bradford's *Gazette*² begins to render some service in connection with Church affairs. One of the first items forms an advertisement by the side of Benjamin d'Harriette's notice that he has for sale "a Negro Man named Scipio, a cooper about 22 years old," and some "very good pitch and Rosin." A churchman advertises for a lost book :

"Taken out of *Trinity Church* in *New York* between *Wednesday* the 25th *August* and *Sunday* the 30th *Instant* 1730, a new Common Prayer Book, cornered and clasped with Silver marked *L. R.* and in the Book written *Wm. Ricketts*. Whoever has taken the aforesaid Book, are desired to return it again, and no Questions shall be asked ; and whoever shall discover the said Silver or Book and give Notice thereof to said *William Ricketts*, or to the Printer hereof, they shall be well awarded for their pains."³

The archives of the Propagation Society for this year

¹ Records, i., 153.

² See Thomas's "*History of Printing*," vol. ii., 286. See the series of extracts from the papers beginning with this year in the Collections of the *N. Y. Historical Society*, 1870, pp. 145 to 408, and collected by Mr. William Kelby, the assistant librarian. *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Col.*, 1870, 174.

³ *The New York Gazette*, September 21, 1730.

contain a letter from Mr. Lurting, member of the parish and Mayor of New York, who writes about the "Library" and twenty-three "cases of books" sent out by the Society. Later the City Corporation ordered a room for the books, which indicates that the Society was pursuing its work in furnishing a public library to the people.

Governor Montgomery died June 30, 1731, at Fort George, and was interred "in the King's Chappell on the evening of the Friday following," as we are informed by the *New England Journal* July 21, 1731, the files of Bradford's *Gazette* being incomplete at this date. Upon his decease, Rip Van Dam, Chief of the Council, assumed the authority. An interesting monumental tablet in memory of the last-named functionary is in the chancel of St. Paul's Chapel.

CHAPTER XIII.

ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR COSBY.

Succeeds Montgomery in Office, Sept., 1732—Rev. Mr. Charlton Appointed Catechist—Thomas Noxon Appointed Schoolmaster—Small-pox in New York—Alexander Campbell Disciplined for Immorality—Mr. Vesey's Residence—The Church Farm—The Zenger Trial—Additions to the Church.

COLONEL WILLIAM COSBY succeeded Montgomery in office. Appointed January 12, 1732, he did not reach this city till September following.¹ His chief difficulties were with the politicians of the period, whose actions, however, do not concern the Church, and have no bearing on the parish history.

June 28, 1731 :

"The Revd. Mr. Colgan acquainted this Board that he had been informed there would be a vacancy in the parish of Jamaica, Long Island, and that he intended to apply to the Society for leave to remove there and also presented to the Vestry a Certificate or Testimonial of his Behavior which was read in the words following to witt We the Rector Church Wardens and Vestry of Trinity Church in New York, being acquainted with the Reverend Mr. Colgan that he designed to apply to the honbl Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts for a Removal from the Mission he now supplys in this city to one in the country think ourselves upon this occasion obliged to do his Character that justice as to say for the time he hath lived among us which is near five years he has behaved himself in all respects as became a minister of the Gospell of Christ in his Life and Conversation being grave and sober and Exemplary in the discharge of the duties of his holy function faithful diligent and industrious which we hope will recommend him to the favor & esteem of others & especially to the honorable society before mentioned." "

¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, v., 930-6.

² Records, i., 160.

July 7, 1731. The Venerable Society was requested to appoint the Rev. Mr. Charlton, Catechist, and "not to withdraw their bounty from the great number of poor Infidells among us whose cause they have hitherto patronized with great success." Mr. Charlton was a native of Ireland, and a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin. He was duly appointed in 1732, and served as Mr. Vesey's assistant, being the fourth who held that position in the parish. After Mr. Vesey's death, Mr. Charlton took charge of a parish on Staten Island.

A change likewise came in connection with the Charity School, the Vestry petitioning the Society to appoint Mr. Thomas Noxon "their Schoolmaster in this city," in the place of Mr. Thomas Huddlestone, whom it had "pleased Almighty God to take unto himself."¹

. During the month of August the small-pox began to make great ravages in the city, the malignity of the disease increasing, until, on November 15th, the *Gazette* reported 549 deaths between August 23d and November 15th, of which number 478 were whites. Of the Church of England 229 died, of the Dutch Church, 212; of the French, 15; of the Lutheran, 1; of the Presbyterian, 16; of the Quakers, 2; of the Baptists, 1; and of Jews, 2; all of which, perhaps, may be taken as indicative, in some respects, of the relative numerical strength of the different religious persuasions.

At this period Mr. Vesey, as Commissary, was obliged to deal with a disreputable clergyman by the name of Alexander Campbell, one of those loose characters that from time to time drifted into the American colonies. It is hardly worth while to dwell upon the subject, as it does not immediately concern the history of the parish, though it indicates the difficulties with which the rector had to

¹ Records, i., 161.

contend from foes within as well as from without. In all his attacks, whether in the press or in the courts, Campbell signally failed, the lawyers who undertook his defence being obliged to abandon his case. The miserable man finally disappeared, but not until he had done much mischief.¹

We come now to the first accident recorded in connection with the work on the church. September 16: "Some Workmen being at work in the Belfry of Trinity Church in this city, one of them fell from thence to the Ground, by which most of his Bones were broken, but is yet alive." The *New York Gazette* of September 25, says: "The Man who fell out of the Belfry of *Trinity Church* in this City, died on Thursday last."²

November 22, 1732, the Board being informed that "the present tenant of Church's ffarme had been forbid by the Procurer General from paying the rent to any other person than himself, alleading [sic] the same did belong to the Crown, and this Board having reason to suspect that there may be some persons endeavoring or that may endeavor to disturb them in the quiet and peaceful possession and enjoyment thereof," resolved that a committee

¹ The Governor had Campbell arrested "in action of £500 pounds for marrying his daughter to the Duke of Grafton's Son without license and is now in Prison." Zenger, 1732, published what is called *A True and Just Vindication of Mr. Alexander Campbell*, 12mo, p. 14, addressed to the Bishop of London. The Venerable Society has two copies of Campbell's *Protestation with Mr. Noxon's Observations upon Parson Campbell's Vindication*, printed by Zenger, MDCCXXXII. The writer knows of no other copy of these productions, while all of Zenger's publications are now very rare. Mr. Noxon was a member of Trinity Parish, and, it will be remembered, the schoolmaster. He does not spare this man Campbell, who indulges in his *Protestation* in the worst of slurs against Mr. Vesey, improving upon the attacks of Governor Hunter and his friends many years before. The P. G. Society's volume, *New York & New England*, No. 13, has the letter of Campbell, 1733, and No. 28, of the same volume, has the letter of Vesey on Campbell, in which he repels the charge that in early life he was an enemy to the Church, and a Dissenting minister.

² *N. Y. Gazette*, September 25, 1732.

be appointed to take charge of the matter and to act if necessary.¹

In the absence of other information respecting Mr. Vesey's domicile, it may be stated here that it appears from the *New York Journal*, that "the Rev. Dr. Vesey", was at that time living "in King Street, New York [now Pine], next door to the House and Ground of Edward Buckingham."

April 25, 1733. Mr. Noxon, by reason of advanced years, resigned the office of Clerk, to take effect in October, while "Mr. Man who officiates in setting and singing the Psalms" expressed his willingness to continue until then. The music, especially in the absence of an organ, must at this time have been of a simple and primitive character.

At this session, a letter to the Bishop of London was reported by the committee on the farm, requesting his assistance in obtaining a Royal grant in order to stop agitation about the title. They say that the property "is so near the town, we could in a few years make the same very beneficial by laying part of it out into lotts, which would bring in a yearly ground rent."² They also arranged with Mr. Moore, the Under Secretary of the Venerable Society, to attend personally to the matter, furnishing him with a carefully drawn paper and covering the whole "case." This document clearly shows that, by grant of Queen Anne, 1705, the right of the Church to the property had been confirmed, and that the opposition was based upon mere quibbles.

July 13. A letter was received from Mr. Moore suggesting that the obtaining of a new grant to the land was hardly necessary, and that it would be expensive; yet he

¹ Records, i., 166.

² *Ibid.*, i., 168.

indicated the steps necessary to be taken in case the parish would desire to proceed.¹

He also forwarded a legal opinion on the subject, all of which is fully recorded. The elaborate opinion of Mr. Dudley seems to have satisfied the parish, which paid the legal expenses and went on as usual attending to its tenants and their leases. That opinion stood through all subsequent times, and holds good to-day, the title of the Corporation to the lands being acknowledged as beyond question.

October 29, 1733. "Mr. John Man Junr. is appointed Clerk in the room of Mr. Noxon." Also, the Vestry having been informed that Archibald Kennedy, Collector and Receiver-General, was still forbidding the tenants on the farm to pay the rents to any one but himself, on the ground that the lands belonged to the Crown, it was "unanimously resolved that the Church Wardens be desired to wait on said Kennedy and acquaint him therewith, and to desire he will desist doing the like for the future, otherwise they think themselves obliged to sue him for such damages as they have and may sustain thereby."² This put the whole subject before the Collector in a new light, and consequently he had the prudence to desist.

Nevertheless it is recorded December, 22, that Mr. Robinson, one of the Church Wardens, acquainted the Board that Attorney-General Bradley had demanded of him "quit rents alleged to be due from the Church for their ffarm upon fformer Grants or Leases made to the Church of their said ffarm." Whereupon it was ordered that a committee be appointed "to inspect what rent is due from the Church to His Majesty for the said ffarme and that the Church Wardens doe pay the same."³

In the year 1735 occurred the famous Zenger trial

¹ Records, i., 171.

² *Ibid.*, i., 177.

³ *Ibid.*, 178.

which went so far to establish the freedom of the press, and civil freedom likewise. Of this, Gouverneur Morris said that it was "the germ of American freedom."¹

July 2, 1735. It was unanimously resolved to make a further addition to the church edifice and voted "that the North and South Sides of the Church be enlarged and made comformable to the New Building at the East End of the Church." A committee was appointed to "agree with workmen and to provide materials this ffall in order to begin the work Early next Spring."² August 14, it was reported that

"the ffoundation on both sides were finished equal with the ground and desired the opinion of the vestry whether they should proceed to carry the walls any higher this ffall, whereupon it was resolved that the Said committee be at Liberty to cause the said walls to be raised six ffoot higher, and further ordered that the Committee have power to agree for the Joyners and Carpenters work as they think fit."³

Governor Cosby died March 10, 1736, after a brief administration of three years and a half, and was succeeded by Governor Clarke, of whose administration an account will be given in the following chapter.

¹ Dunlap, i., 302.

² Records, i., 182.

³ *Ibid.*, 183.

CHAPTER XIV.

ADMINISTRATION OF LIEUT. GOVERNOR CLARKE.

Hostility to Mr. Vesey—Enlargement of the Church Edifice—Thanksgiving Day Observed in the Province—Schick Schidit—Arrangement of Pews—Smith's Description of Trinity Church—First Appearance of the Bogardus Claimants to Church property, 1738—Parish Library—Arrears of Quit-rents Paid to the Crown—Meeting of Clergy in Trinity Church—Organ Provided—Death of Lady Clarke—Negro Plot, 1741—Handsome Additions to Church Furniture.

UPON the death of Governor Cosby, the government devolved upon George Clarke, member of the Council, and formerly Secretary of the Province.¹ He had been associated with Cosby in office, as a kind of prime minister, if that description may be allowed; he had also served as Secretary in New Jersey, whence, in 1715, he sent home a bitter attack upon Mr. Vesey, intended, probably, to support Governor Hunter.² His letter was quite as malignant and unscrupulous in its contents and style as the document sent to England by Hunter and his friends, but it had as little weight with the Bishop of London and the authorities. By the death of Cosby, Clarke was brought into new relations with the Rector of Trinity; but things had greatly changed, and the consequences which might have been apprehended did not ensue. There is no particular indication of the relations existing between these men; the Governor kept out of the rector's way, well knowing that

¹ *Memoirs, N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iv., 1069.

² See letter in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, v., 464, in which he accuses Mr. Vesey of being a non-juror, fomentor of political intrigues against the administration, and guilty of simony.

the latter lived in the hearts and enjoyed the good-will of his parishioners and townsmen.

The work of increasing the accommodation in the church proceeded, notwithstanding a deficiency in ready money, for we find, two days later, that it was "the unanimous opinion of this Board that the South Gallery be carried directly back to the rear wall and that it be enlarged by an addition of the same breadth to the East wall of the new Building."¹

The officers of the parish, for lack of a trained architect, were obliged to make their own plans, and were sometimes compelled to resort to ingenuity in the vindication of their skill. Hence, January 17, 1737, the Records state that "inasmuch as it appears to the Vestry that if the South Gallery be removed directly back to the wall of the New Building pursuant to the rule made by the last Vestry, that the pillars must be placed in the Ile and be inconvenient, it is resolved that the said Gallery be enlarged in breadth so far as to place the pillars so as not to incommode the Ile or the pews." It was also resolved "that the pulpit be removed back against the North Wall of the New Building between the two windows proposed by the vestry on the view of the Church."²

Then follow more than two pages of subscriptions in aid of the work, Mr. Vesey leading with the largest sum, fifty pounds, while Stephen De Lancey gave twenty-five pounds, the total subscription amounting to £517.9.6.

April 21, 1737, was observed as a day of Thanksgiving in the Province. The following account appears in Bradford's *Gazette* of April 25, and is worthy of insertion here as a picture of times of which scanty records are left :

"His Honour the Lieut. Governour [Clarke] having by his Proclamation of the 31st of *March* last, directed and enjoyed, that Thursday

¹ Records i., 184.

² *Ibid.*, i., 185.

the 21st Instant, should be solemnly observed thro'-out this Province, as a Publick Day of Rejoycing & Thanksgiving for his most sacred Majesty's happy Deliverance from the Dangers of the Sea he met with, in his Passage from *Holland* to *England*, and of his safe Arrival there ; and having also directed and enjoyned that Divine Service should be performed in the Forenoon, in all Churches and Chappels within this Province, the same was accordingly observed, and in a particular manner in the City, by all the Ministers of the Gospel of the several Congregations therein ; and at the *English Church* in this City, after divine Service performed, the Reverend Mr. *Charlton* preached a Sermon on the following Text, *Psal.* 144, v. 15: *Happy is the People that is in such a Case ; yea, Happy is that People whose God is the Lord.* His Honour, after divine Service ended, returning to the Fort, he was attended with the Principal Magistrates and Gentlemen of the City, where the Royal and Provincial Healths were drank, under the discharge of the Cannon from the Fort (His Majesty's Regular Troops being the whole time under Arms) and the evening was concluded with Illuminations, and the other usual Demonstrations of Joy."

September 28, 1737.

"A Brief under the hand and Seal at Arms of the Honbl George Clarke Esqr Lieut Governor of this Province, Recommending Schick Schidit of Barut near Mount Lebanon in Syria to the compassion of all well disposed persons, he having been Recommended by his Sacred Majesty and divers of the nobility of Great Britain was read to this Board,"

whereupon it was

"Ordered that the Church wardens, assisted by such of the Vestry as they think fit go round to such English Inhabitants as they shall think proper to make a Collection for the said Schick Schidit."¹

Here our Syrian friend disappears.

September 28, 1737. Ordered that

"the large pew under the Corner of the New Gallery in Trinity Church, which was formerly the Govs Pew, be applied for the use of the Church Wardens for the time being, and that the Canopy pew on the right hand side of the said South Door be for the use of the Commander and Officers of his Majestys Ships of Warr for the time being, and that the two pews before the said Pew be for the use of Masters of Vessels

¹ Records i., 189.

being Strangers ; That the new Pew on the East Side of the Pulpit be for the use of his Majesty's Council, the Judges and Attorney General for the time being, and that the Pew which was formerly for the use of his Majesty's Council be for the use of the Governor for the time being."¹

October 28, 1737. Ordered that the pew

"next behind the pew belonging to Mr. Alexander Moore in the Body of the Church be and is hereby appropriated and Set apart to and for the use of the Assistant Minister of the Church for the time being and his family.""

April 17, 1738. The committee on the enlargement of the Church were instructed

"to number and set a price upon the pews to be disposed of and that the same pews be disposed of publicly in the Church on the last Wednesday in May next,"

while the front pew in the south gallery was to be "set apart to and for seating of the Captains and officers of his Majesty's ships of war."² It was also voted that the Wardens "be desired to have the Cancell wainscotted round with mahogany in such manner as they shall think proper," while the same committee was "desired to examine how the fire happened to the Churches House in which Mr. Miller lived."

The general appearance of the church, after the changes and improvements had been completed, is thus described by Smith in his history published some twenty years later :

"*Trinity Church* was built in 1696, and afterwards enlarged in 1737. It stands very pleasantly upon the Banks of *Hudson's River*, and has a large Cemetery on each side, inclosed in the Front by a painted paled Fence. Before it a long Walk is railed off from the Broad-way, the pleasantest Street of any in the whole Town. The building is about 148 Feet long, including the Tower and Chancel, and 72 feet in

¹ Records, i., 189

² *Ibid.*, i., 190.

³ *Ibid.*, i., 193.



Trinity Church as enlarged in 1737.

ABRIL 100
VIRGEN
VIRGEN

Breadth. The Steeple is 175 Feet in Height, and over the Door facing the River is the following inscription :

Per Angustam

'Hoc Trinitatis Templum fundatum est Anno Regni illustrissimi supremi, Domini Gulielmi tertii, Dei Gratiâ, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Regis, Fidei Defensoris, &c. Octavo, Annoq; Domini 1696. Ac Voluntariâ quorundam Contributione ac Donis Ædificatum, maximè autem, dilecti Regis Chiliarchæ BENJAMINI FLETCHER, hujus Provinciæ strataeci & Imperatoris, Munificentia animatum et auctum, cujus tempore moderaminis, hujus Civitatis incolæ, Religionem protestantem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, ut secundum Legem nunc stabilitæ profitentes, quodam Diplomate, sub Sigillo Provinciæ incorporati sunt, atque alias Plurimas, ex Re suâ familiari, Donationes notabiles eidem dedit.'

"The church is, within, ornamented beyond any other Place of publick Worship amongst us. The Head of the Chancel is adorned with an Altar-piece, and opposite to it, at the other End of the Building, is the Organ. The Tops of the Pillars which support the Galleries, are decked with the gilt Busts of Angels winged. From the Ceiling are suspended two Glass Branches, and on the Walls hang the Arms of some of its principal Benefactors. The Allies are paved with flat Stones."¹

The interior with its imposing dimensions, its altar-piece, its brasses and heraldic decorations must, in those days, have given the beholder a strong impression of the standing and character of the parish. It was no doubt a very fine building for that period in America, and as the people contemplated its proportions and adornments they doubtless felt an honest and pardonable pride.

In August, 1738, we come upon the first indication of the setting up of a claim to the church property, on the ground of inheritance from Anneke Jans. All attacks prior to this date had been made on other pretences, but now the Bogardus heirs, for the first time take the field against the church. "A Claim being made of part of the Churches ffarm by the Heirs of one Bogardus, Ordered

¹ Smith's *History of New York*, 189.

that the Rector, the two Church Wardens, Mr. Chambers & Mr. Nicholls be a Committee to Enquire into the claim of the Heirs of Said Bogardus and that they make their report thereon with all convenient expedition."¹ It must be remembered that this was more than seventy years after the sale of the Farm to Lovelace, and that no descendant of Mrs. Anneke Jans Bogardus had ever before made claim either to the rent of the Farm paid by its occupants or the ownership or possession of it.

About this time Mr. Robert Elliston, Comptroller of Customs, presented a quantity of books to serve as a parish library, and it was ordered that the Catalogue be entered in the minutes of the Board. Further on there is "A Register of the Books sent towards laying the foundation of a Parochial Library in New York for the use of the Ministers of Holy Trinity Church." The list is divided into twenty-one departments, including Medical Science, Logic, and Poetry. Next is "A Catalogue of Books Sent Augt 30, 1701, to New York to improve the Library at New York," and others sent in 1702 and 1704. Then follows "A Catalogue of Books given to the Library of New York by Thos. Byerly, Esq., Collector and Receiver General of the Province of New York of the value of five pounds Sterling, 1704, & brought from London by Mr. Brett 1705." A detailed list of the Elliston Books is given.²

March 9, 1739.

"Ordered by unanimous consent of the Vestry that the Church Wardens be pleased forthwith to pay to his Majesty's Receiver General all the arrears of Quit rent due to his said Majesty for the Churches ffarm, as well on account of the lease to the Church from Coll. Ffletcher in the year 1697 as on the grant since obtained from the Crown ffor the said ffarm and that they take proper discharges accordingly."³

¹ Records, i., 196.

² *Ibid.*, i., 200-212.

³ *Ibid.*, i., 197.

Later it was reported that the committee had made the payment and taken a receipt for the same, written upon the back of Lord Cornbury's grant, in which the receiver acknowledged the receipt of "sixty bushels of Wheat" "in full of the rent reserved from the commencement of the said Lease which was on the first of August, 1690, to the vacating of the said lease by Act of General Assembly passed in the year 1699." He also acknowledged the receipt of four pounds nineteen shillings and three pence in full to December 25, 1738.¹ This settled a long neglected and almost forgotten legal claim.

April 24, 1739. We have the first reference to the employment of the young in connection with church music :

"Resolved that the Rector, Church Wardens Mr. Watts, Mr. Moore and Mr. Reade or any three of them be a Committee to treat and agree with _____ to sing in the church and teaching such Youth to sing as shall be recommended by the said Committee."

The cost was not to exceed twenty pounds. Further on we shall see how this movement grew, and what a marked feature it became in the history of the parish.

At this time Mr. Vesey, in the exercise of his office as Commissary to the Bishop of London, and in obedience to the commands of that Prelate, convened a meeting of the clergy of New York and New Jersey at Trinity Church. A copy of the circular letter addressed to the clergy, April 2, 1739, and of the Report of Mr. Vesey to the Secretary of the Venerable Society, June 4 following, may be found in the *Centennial History of the Church in the Diocese of New York* pp. 84-5. The meeting was held May 2. The clergy were requested to hand in their parochial accounts, with the state of their income, for

¹ Records, 199.

² *Ibid.*, i., 213.

transmission to London. Mr. Vesey says, "they all accordingly met excepting only such as were prevented by sickness and other accidents." The details of this convocation are wanting, but the correspondence is preserved in the archives of the Venerable Society. A tabulated report of the clergy in the Provinces of New York and New Jersey in 1738 will be found in the Appendix.

For forty years the church had been without an organ. June 1, 1739, "Mr. John Clemm of Philadelphia organ maker laid before the Vestry a Scheam for making an organ for Trinity Church, whereupon after debating and considering of the same the Question was put, and it was resolved that the said John Clemm be forthwith employed to make an organ."¹

Ten months had passed since the order was given for the organ, and now, April 1, 1740, Mr. Clemm "the organ maker at Philadelphia" was requested "to send by Capt. Griffith now supposed to be there and bound for this Port all such Pipes and other parts of the organ as he has already finished."²

Bibliographers will be interested in the entry of April 1, 1740, which ordered :

"that the Rector and Church be pleased to purchase such number of Lewis's Exposition of the Church Catechism lately reprinted by William Bradford in this city as they shall think proper, and that the said Rector and Church Wardens do from time to time Deliver them to our Reverend

¹ Records, i, 214. The Records give the name of this person as Clemm, but his full and correct name seems to have been John Gottlob Klemm. He was born in Dresden, Germany, 1690, coming to this country and residing in Philadelphia in 1736. In 1745 he removed to New York, though, in 1757, he joined the United Brethren at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. He made organs for that Society. He died at Bethlehem in 1762. The author is indebted to Dr. Gilbert, organist of Trinity Chapel, for this and other related information on the subject of organs.

² *Ibid.*, i., 215.

Mr. Charlton the Society's Catechist in order to be by him given and distributed to such Catechumens as he shall think proper."¹

May 13, 1740. Ordered

"that the Organs be placed in the West Gallery of the Church and that the committee take care to have the same placed and put up in the best manner."²

On the 19th of May, an event occurred which moved the social circles of the city; the death of

"the Lady of the honourable *George Clarke*, Esq.; His Majesty's Lieutenant Governour of this Province: She was the eldest Daughter of the late honourable *Edward Hyde*, Esq.; who descended from one of the most ancient Families in *England*: They were originally of the Principality of *Wales*, but settled at *Hyde* in *Cheshire* about one hundred years before *William* the Conqueror came into *England*, which has ever since been the Seat of the Family." The remains were laid in "a Vault in *Trinity Church* with the Remains of her Mother and the late Lady Cornbury." Minute guns were fired "from the fort and sundry Vessels in the Harbour"; and the chronicler adds, that "on the day of her Funeral a Loaf of Bread, was given to every Poor Person who would receive it."³

The work of adorning and beautifying the church edifice proceeded in a commendable manner.

July 1, 1740.

"Mr. Robert Elliston produced to this Board the plan of the Alter piece for the Church and at the same time proposed to give twenty pounds towards it, whereupon It was ordered that the said Mr. Elliston be Desired and Impowered to agree for and have such Alter piece made and completed after the best and most reasonable manner he can."

October 1, 1741. "It is the opinion of the Vestry that the Organ pipes be gilded with gold Leaf in such manner as the Committee shall think proper."

¹ Records, i., 215. A copy of this Bradford *Catechism* is in possession of the present rector of the parish.

² *Ibid.*, 216.

³ *New York Gazette*, May 26, 1740, and *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iv., 1069.

This year, 1741, New York was visited with another "Negro Plot." The story is a humiliating one; but it need not be given here; fortunately, no allusion to it appears in the "Records" of the parish. The narrative of the Plot by Judge Horsmanden is of special interest to us as he was one of the wardens of Trinity Church.¹

"July 27, "the Church Wardens agreed with Mr. John Clemm, Junr. for one year to come : as Organist."

August 8. Mr. John Clemm announced that he had "completed the Organ : in Trinity Church : according to his agreement," whereupon it was voted to pay him the remainder of the sum due him, £520.

At this time it was voted that the wardens "be desired to send to England by the first opportunity for a new Sett of Furniture for the Communion Table, Pulpit and Reading Desk : of the best English Crimson Flower Damask : with a plain silk ffringe Lining and Tassels." "

The next entry to be quoted is that of April 28, 1742, when the damask ordered had arrived with the exquisite "Fringe : Lining and Tassells : for the same," which "cost forty-two pounds Eleven shillings and three pence sterling." Also it appeared that Captain Farmer had "agreed with a workman in London : for Three branches for Trinity Church for the sum of Eighty pounds sterling without gilding." The contract was confirmed, and it was also agreed to "send for a small branch for the Pulpitt and another for the Reading Desk: and that he give Directions to have all the Branches Gilt."

¹ See Horsmanden's *History of the Negro Plot*.

See also Dr. John Gilmary Shea's account of the Negro Plot, in the *Corporation Manual*, 1870 pp., 760-771, in which he treats the Roman Catholic side of the case showing how Mr. Hildreth, the teacher of the Charity School, was used to secure Ury's condemnation.

The Negro Plot was followed by a disease resembling the yellow fever, which cost the lives of 217 persons, out of a population of 11,000.

² At this period we find this peculiar punctuation in the Records.

A fresh addition to the church was resolved upon July 20, 1742, when it was ordered "that a new gallery be built on the North side the Church, and that the Pulpit be Removed near the Chancell." To please the æsthetic taste of the congregation it was further ordered that "upon the pillars under the galleries there be a Crown and Cherub alternately instead of all Cherubs.¹

¹ Records, 224, 225.

CHAPTER XV.

CLOSING YEARS AND DEATH OF MR. VESEY.

Arrival of Governor Clinton—Address to him by the Vestry—Death of William Bradford, 1742—Restoration of his Tombstone in Trinity Churchyard 1863—Proceedings of the New York Historical Society—A Richly Laden Prize in the Harbor—Mr. Vesey's Failing Strength—Review of his Administration—Death, July 11, 1746—Contemporaneous Records of his Character and Work.

AS early as the 24th of August, 1741, it was known in New York that George Clinton had been appointed Governor of the Province. He did not arrive, however, until Sept. 20, 1743. On the 28th an address was voted to his Excellency, in reply to which the Governor, receiving a committee of the Vestry at his house, said: "Your Church in particular may be assured of my countenance and protection, in the secure Enjoyment of all your Religious Rights and Privileges."¹

In the year 1742, William Bradford, the famous printer died. He served as a member of the Vestry of Trinity Church from 1703 to 1710. He was buried in the churchyard, on the north side, not far from Broadway. The stone erected on his grave having become shattered, was replaced at the expense of the Corporation of Trinity, with a new one, a precise reproduction of the original, but of better material.² On the occasion of the restoration of this tombstone, May 20, 1863, a special service was held in the churchyard; and, the day being the 200th

¹ Records, i., 227.

² The original stone is now in the possession of the New York Historical Society.

anniversary of Bradford's birth, an address was delivered in the evening, before the Historical Society, by John William Wallace of Philadelphia.¹ Referring to the ceremonies at the Church Mr. Wallace says :

"Bradford's remains were interred beside those of his wife, on the Monday following his death, in the grounds of Trinity Church. A monument erected by the piety of surviving friends in that day has consecrated the spot till our times. Ancient and perishing however, it was irreparably injured in the erection of the noble pile which now stands beside the grave.

"The Church Corporation, as many of you have witnessed, has this day done honour to itself and Bradford, by placing there a new one of better workmanship and more enduring strength.

"Few who witnessed the ceremony there this day, Trinity Church assembled in her corporate grandeur to do honour to her long departed son—the current of a mighty city's thoroughfare arrested for the better reverence—while choirs, as if of heaven, were chaunting hymns around that ancient grave—will soon forget the august and touching scene. William Bradford, by the honours which Trinity has this day paid his memory, is made the earliest in that line of her worthies—God's servants departed this life in His Faith and Fear—which Hugh Gaine, James Oram, and Thomas Swords, Printers and Publishers of New York, have brought in uninterrupted honour, even to this our day."²

December 15, 1743. Ordered that Colonel Moore write to his brother, Doctor Moore,

"to procure for the Church a Good Sober Organist ; but not to exceed forty pounds Sterling per annum, nor to agree for a longer term than three years : but that the Church will pay his Passage over and pay five Guineas for furnishing him with Necessarys for his passage."³

January 5, 1744. "Forty pounds in full of gratuity promised him by the Board," was voted to Mr. Clemm, builder of the organ. It was also agreed by him

¹ The N. Y. Historical Society still further commemorated the history and services of Bradford, by the erection of a bronze tablet on the site where his first printing press was set up. Appropriate exercises were held at the unveiling of the tablet in the building of the New York Cotton Exchange, April 8, 1893.

² *Address on the Two Hundredth Birthday of Mr. William Bradford* by John William Wallace 90.

³ Records, i., 228.

"that when a good organist comes here and finds any real fault with the organ : that he will come here and amend it ; the Vestry paying the charge of his coming here and Returning, and also that he will change three Treble Stops that are now in wood for Pewter if Required for the sum of fifteen pounds ; and will also change the Trumpet stops for a Double Cornett for the sum of fifteen pounds and will make a Pedell compleat for the organ for the sum of twelve pounds if Required."¹

Also ordered "that the Alter Piece be raised in such manner as Mr. Elleston shall direct" ; while, July 4, it was voted that "the Pulpit and Canopy be Painted a Mahogany Colour" ; and the "square pew opposite the Reading Desk be and is hereby Appointed the Rector's Pew."

November 6, 1744. Voted to pay Colonel Moore the five guineas "advanced by Doctor More to Mr. John Rice to come over here as Organist ; also to pay the passage of the said Mr. John Rice from London to this place" ; Mr. Joseph Hildreth was to officiate as Clerk until further notice. William Cook was also appointed "Joint Sexton of Trinity Church together with John Welch."²

Ordered that the Wardens pay Captain Exter twenty pounds current money for the passage of Mr. Rice "from England hither, and that they advance to him Mr. Rice what money they think necessary."³

The local news found in the *Evening Post* at this period relates largely to privateering, England then being at war with Spain. The *Post* of January 28th, gives the account of an arrival that must have made a great impression upon the town, though the people, long addicted to oblique enterprise were, no doubt, accustomed to the appearance of successful commanders at this port. The account referred to is that of the arrival of "the brave and active Thomas

¹ Records, i., 228.

² *Ibid.*, i., 230.

³ *Ibid.* Later he was to make "three or four new bellows," to be stowed in the belfry.

Frankland," who brought one of the richest prizes yet taken during the war with Spain. It was a French ship of 400 tons and 20 guns,

"having on board 800 serons of Cocoa, in each of which 'tis said is deposited as customary a Bar of Gold, 68 Chests of Silver Coins (already found) containing 310,000 Pieces of Eight, private Adventures in Gold and Silver Coins, and wrought Plate of equivalent Value, besides which there has been also found a compleat Set of Church Plate, a large Quantity of Gold Buckles and Snuff-boxes, a curious Two-wheeled Chaise of Silver, th Wheels, and Axle &c all of th same Metal, a large Quantity of Diamonds, Pearl and other precious Stones, upwards of 600 Weight of Gold &c and fresh Discoveries are daily made of more Treasure."

In fact the writer continues,

"'Tis impossible to give an exact Account of What is on board this Prize, some Gold have been secreted even in th Knees, Barricados, &c the Heels of the Prisoners Shoes having been made hollow, were also full of Gold." There follows a graphic account of the deadly engagement off the west end of Cuba. Among Frankland's prisoners was a nephew of the Viceroy of Mexico. Probably no such richly laden ship had ever before passed the Narrows.

July 26, 1745. The Wardens of St. Andrews, at Richmond, Staten Island, wrote about the need of discipline in connection with that parish and said, "Mr. Vesey is grown Antient, Infirm, and unable to travel," and that therefore he had declined to visit St. Andrews.¹

We have reached the year in which the long pastorate of the first rector of Trinity came to an end. The reader is now in a measure familiar with his character and acts. His days, as priest and pastor, were marked by the usual alternations of storm and clear weather, with stirring accidents and moving occurrences. Much might have been added to enlarge this narrative had space been at command

¹ N. Y. Gen. Conv. MSS., ii., 161.

for that purpose. During his administration, great changes occurred in the city and the province ; party spirit took new forms ; old watchwords were dropped and others were adopted ; Church people, no longer a little handful in the midst of a generally adverse population, had increased in numbers and influence, and many converts had been made among those who were attracted by a love of the conservative and a dread of the radical in politics and religion. Once, during Mr. Vesey's rectorship, there came over the land, like a conflagration, the Methodist movement, so little comprehended by our fathers, though it seems so plain to us ; and when Whitfield arrived in New York, he and the Commissary had rough words and exchanged sharp shots, of which the Methodist brother has left a somewhat angry record ; but we cannot blame the staunch old Churchman for holding out as he did against what he deemed the special perils of the time, whether embodied in the acts of dictatorial governors, the votes of hostile senates, the howling of street-rioters, or the impassioned utterances of a new sect. The Church, meanwhile, thrived and prospered, until at the time of Mr. Vesey's death, twenty-two congregations were flourishing under his jurisdiction as rector and Commissary. About a year before his death he wrote home to the Secretary of the Venerable Society regarding the growth of the Church in New York. From his letter, dated November 27, 1745, this extract is taken :

" Revd. Sir, here I must beg leave to observe to you that in the year of Our Lord 1697 I was ordained by Dr. Compton the then Bishop of London, and sent here by his Lordship to officiate at Trinity Church in the City of New York ; at which time, besides this Church and Chapel in the port, one church in Philadelphia, and one other in Boston, I don't remember to have heard of one building erected to the public worship of God on this northern continent of America, from Maryland, where the Church was established by a law of the Provinces,

to the east-most bounds of Nova Scotia, which I believe in length is 800 miles. And now most of these provinces or colonies have many churches, which, against all opposition, increase and flourish, under miraculous influence of Heaven. I make no doubt it will give a vast pleasure to the Honble Society to observe the wonderful blessing of God on their pious cares and endeavours to promote the Christian Religion in these remote and dark corners of the world ; and the great success that by the concomitant power of the Holy Ghost has attended the faithful labours of their Missionaries in the conversion of so many from vile errors and wicked practices to the faith of Christ and the obedience of his Gospel."

Mr. Vesey's last attendance at a Vestry meeting was on the 3d of April, 1746. From that time his strength grew daily less, and the end drew on. He died at his residence, July 11th, having held the office of Rector forty-nine years.

Order was taken for supplying the services at the church until the election of a successor to the deceased, and then follows an insertion in another hand, entitled a "Character of the Revd. Mr. Vesey Taken out of the Newspaper, vizt, New York, July 14th." This states that on

" Fryday Morning Last (after a lingering Indisposition) Departed this Life, in the 72d year of his age the Revd Mr. Commissary Vesey who was Rector of Trinity Church in this City from its first Building in the year 1697 to the day of his death. During which time he conscientiously performed the great Dutys of his office with Unwearied Diligence And Uncommon Abilities to the Generall Satisfaction and applause of all ; and as he had been a great Instrument in promoting the Building and Settlement of the Church (when there were but few of the Established Religion here) so by the Blessing of God upon his pious and Earnest Endeavors he had the satisfaction to see the Congregation from time to time Increase, the Building enlarged and Beautified ; and now at last the inward pleasure of leaving in peace and order one of the largest and finest Churches in America, with a very considerable congregation, who justly lament their almost Irreparable loss in him, who in his private life also was truly a good liver, of a grave, thoughtful, prudent and Discreet Disposition, yet very affable chearfull and Good

Nature in his Conversation. A most Tender Affectionate Husband, a good indulgent Master, a faithfull steady friend and Beneficient to all. His Corps was last Saturday Decently Interred in the Family Vault attended by several gentlemen of his Majesty's Councill, most of the principal Magistrates, and Chieftest of all the Inhabitants, and as he always lived a faithful Soldier and Servant to his great Lord and Master so he in his sickness with great Patience, Resolution and Constancy of Mind, and in his last moments (sensible) Chearfully Resigned his soul into his hand who summoned him hence to receive the eulogy mentioned in the Gospell, 'Well done thou good and faithfull servant enter thou into the joy of thy lord.'"¹

¹ Records, i., 234. Mr. Barclay under cover of his letter of December 9, 1746, to the Secretary of the Venerable Society forwarded copies of "two characters given of my late worthy predecessor in the publick prints" the first of which is the one here reproduced. See N. Y. Gen. Conv. Mss. ii., 180.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE REV. HENRY BARCLAY, D.D.

North American Indians—Missions among them—The Five Nations—Rev. Thoroughgood Moor—Rev. Thomas Barclay, Missionary and Catechist—Henry Barclay, Birth, Education, Ordination, and Early Labors among the Mohawks—Called to Trinity Church—Induction—Claimants to Church Property—Rev. Richard Charlton—Samuel Auchmuty, Birthplace, Ordination—Elected Assistant to Dr. Barclay—Erecting of New Chapel—Kalm's Description of New York—Charity School—Two Weddings—School-house Destroyed by Fire—Auchmuty's Sermons—Grant of Land to King's College—Organ for the Parish Church—Opening of St. George's Chapel—Description of the Edifice.

A CLOUD of mystery, which the science of ethnology has not yet removed, overhangs the American continent. We are assured by the learned that this is the oldest part of the habitable globe ; and there is ground for believing that certain parts of it were inhabited at a very distant period by races much more advanced in arts and knowledge than the savages who were found here by the European discoverers in the 15th and 16th centuries. The vestiges of an extinct and long-buried splendor are still visible in Central America and Mexico ; and the Valley of the Mississippi presents objects apt to convince us of the great abilities of those who left them in their places long ago. The inferences drawn from these phenomena may have been too highly colored by fancy, yet they seem to leave us a choice between two theories : Either that a higher and nobler race once dwelt here, yielding at last to the inroad of fierce barbarians, or else that deterioration and not elevation and improvement has been the law of that aboriginal life.

But whatever may be the genesis and history of the North American savages who encountered the voyagers from Europe four hundred years ago, their conversion to the faith of the Gospel was the dream and inspiration of many of the promoters of emigration to North America. The priests of the Roman Church, and especially those of the Religious Orders, applied themselves with enthusiasm to that work, and the clergy of the Church of England emulated their example. It is not to be denied that there was mixed motive in the actions of men in those days, and that political and selfish considerations influenced them to some extent ; but side by side ran a tide of sincere devotion to the interests of the souls of men. The annals of the Missions of the Christian priesthood among the Indians of North America are annals of romance and heroism, glorious and honorable to all time. The highest courage matched itself against incredible obstacles for the love of God, for the extension of the Catholic Church and for the salvation of the Gentiles ; and the stars in the crowns of the martyrs shine gloriously in the dark and troubled skies.

The Indians who bordered on the Colony of New York were known as the Iroquois, or Five Nations, the most renowned and ingenious of the savages of the North.

These tribes formed a confederation, and acted together under a system which immensely increased their power and enabled them to achieve great results. The terror of all the tribes to the north of them, they lay like a great bulwark between New York and Canada. It was natural that the attention of the English Church should be earnestly fixed on them, and that great efforts should be made to convert them to Christianity. Civil and religious motives in fact combined to urge on the work of their evangelization, for trade with them was active, and they

guarded the frontier between New England and New York on the one side, and the French at Quebec with the Canadian Indians their allies on the other.

As early as the year 1700, Lord Bellomont memorialized the Lords of Trade and Plantations on the want of some Ministers of the Church of England to instruct the Five Nations of Indians, and prevent them from the approaches of French priests and Jesuits. The subject was referred to the Queen, and on the 3d of April, 1700, an order of Council was made authorizing the appointment of two clergymen as missionaries, and referring it to the Archbishop of Canterbury to take order for the due fulfilment of the service.¹

A similar memorial was received by the Venerable Society in 1703, from Robert Livingstone, Secretary for the Indian Affairs in the Province of New York, asking for the appointment of six men, of youth, learning, and orthodoxy, to go as missionaries to the Indians, and suggesting that each should have a couple of youths with him to learn the language and assist in the work, and that a house should be built for each minister at each of the Indian castles.²

Leaving the Government to act as it might, the Venerable Society proceeded to do what it could, and the Rev. Thoroughgood Moor was sent out to New York, on this service, in the year 1704. His instructions were to take up his residence among the Indians, learn their language, and endeavor by all possible means to win them to the faith in Christ. He was kindly received by Lord Cornbury and sent to Albany, where he met and conferred with some sachems and other Indians, and thence proceeded

¹ Humphreys, 108 ; *Historical Notices* by Hawkins, 264.

² Hawkins, 264 ; N. Y. Gen. Conv. MSS., i., 24 ; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iv., 1074-1077.

to the Mohawk castles. For some cause or other his work proved a failure ; he withdrew from the field and went to New Jersey. There he fell under the displeasure of Lord Cornbury, who summoned him to New York and, on his declining to obey, arrested and imprisoned him. Some three years after his arrival in America he embarked for England, but the vessel on which he sailed was never heard of again.¹

The failure of this first attempt is ascribed, by writers of that day, to the intrigues of the Jesuits with the Indians. However that may be, efforts were resumed in the year 1709, and with better success. A delegation of sachems crossed the sea and went to London, where they ratified a treaty that had been made with their people by the Governor of New York, and asked for clergy and teachers. These were sent ; a fort, chapel, and mission-house were built, and the work of evangelization was resumed and carried forward with some appearance of success. But the difficulties in the way of the conversion of those barbarians were immense. Their nomadic habits, brutal tastes and dislike of industry, their rivalries and wars, their treachery and cruelty, their jealousy of the whites and their restless, roving temper, made it exceedingly difficult to acquire influence over them and all but impossible to maintain it. Insults, threats, and personal danger were the lot of the unfortunate missionaries, whose labors might be compared to the "grass growing on the house top which withereth afore it be plucked up."²

Among the men engaged in this arduous service was the Rev. Thomas Barclay. As Missionary and Catechist

¹ *History of the Church in Burlington, N. J.*, by the Rev. Geo. Morgan Hills, D.D., 64, 66, 74, 103, 132.

² See the statements of the Rev. William Andrews, missionary to the Mohawks from 1712 to 1718. He says : " Their lives are generally such as leave little or no room for hopes of ever making them any better than they are—heathens. Heathens

at Albany, he had the spiritual oversight of the English residents and the duty of doing what he could towards the conversion and instruction of the Indians and Negroes. He appears as Chaplain at Fort Edward in 1708, where he preached in the Lutheran Church, being familiar with the Dutch language; he also had occasional duty at Schenectady. In 1715, St. Peter's Church, Albany, was completed and opened for service, Mr. Barclay being the Rector. He suffered much, however, from hardships, misfortune, and illness, and in 1722 temporarily lost his reason, which led to an appeal to the Venerable Society on his behalf by his brethren of the clergy.¹

The Rev. Thomas Barclay had a son, Henry by name, born in 1715. This young man graduated at Yale College in 1734, and, in the following year, was appointed Catechist to the Mohawks at Fort Hunter. His labors proving acceptable and successful, he determined to devote his life to the work of the Sacred Ministry. Accordingly in 1737 he went to England, where he received Deacon's and Priest's orders, January, 1738, and thereupon returned and settled among the Mohawks as their spiritual father. He was received with joy by his Indian neo-

they are, and heathens they will still be. There are ■ few, and but ■ few, perhaps about fourteen or fifteen, whose lives are more regular than the rest." They showed no devotion in church, where they came to get a dinner and slept most of the time. (*Historical Notices* by Hawkins, 268). It was the same with the Roman Catholic Missions; Father Hennepin's accounts coincide with these.

1

"N. Y., July 5th, 1722.

We the Commissary & Clergy of the Province of New York etc. do take the Liberty to lay before the Venble Society the deplorable condition of the Revd Mr. Barclay min^r of Albany formerly ■ missionary from that Venble Body & the miserable circumstances of his poor family—he hath been all along diligent in his cure and hath taken great pains in catechising Indian Infidels in a place where they are very numerous but of late many misfortunes successfully attending him have at length brought him to an outrageous distraction such as has obliged his friends to confine him to a dark room and in the meantime the small Salary which the Government in England allowed him not being paid, his family (a wife and four children) are reduced to extreme poverty.

His relations in this place have applied to us his Brethren to lay this before the

phytes and, on the transfer of the Rev. John Miln, then Rector of St. Peter's, Albany, to a cure in Monmouth, N. J., he was appointed his successor. On the occasion of the gathering of the Nations to renew their league of friendship with the whites, he preached to a large congregation, the Indians duly responding in the church service. He also preached to the Dutch in their own language. Sprague says,

"In 1741, Mr. Barclay informed the Venerable Society that his congregation at Albany consisted of one hundred and eighty English, besides two independent companies ; and in the Mohawk country, of five hundred Indians, settled in two towns, at thirty miles distance from Albany ;—that he had sixty English, and fifty-eight Indian, communicants ; and that the vice of intemperance among the Indians was greatly on the decrease. In 1743 his statement was that two or three only of the whole tribe remained unbaptized and that with the consent of the Governor, he had appointed two Mohawk schoolmasters to teach the young Mohawks, and that they were both very diligent and successful." ¹

The success of Mr. Barclay in his Indian work was, however, temporary ; political events, together with the

venble Society humbly praying that his miserable condition and the necessities of his poor family will move that Charitable body to consider them in such manner as in their great Wisdom and goodness shall seem most effectual for their relief.

We desire you 'll please to lay this before the Venerable Society & withal assure them that we are

Their Honors most faithful missionaries
& most obliged humble Servts

John Thomas	Æneas McKenzie
Will: Vesey	Dan ^l Bondet
John Bartow	Edw ^d Vaughan
Robert Jenney	Thomas Poyer

N. Y. Gen. Conv., i., 580.

Mr. Barclay was subsequently appointed to Rye, with a salary of £50 : it does not seem probable that he went there. Bolton, in his history of the Church in the *County of Westchester*, 214, confounds Thomas Barclay with Henry ; and Dr. Baird, in his *History of Rye*, 312, follows the error. On the Barclays, see the *American Genealogy*, by Holgate, Albany, 1848, 122, and *N. Y. Gen. & Bio. Record*, 1886, 75.

¹ *Annals*, v., 92, also *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, v.i, 88 and 314, and the *Correspondence of Thomas Barclay*, Edited by George Lockhart Rives, ii.

fickleness and instability of the savages, led to great and melancholy changes. On the 2d of December, 1764, he wrote to the Venerable Society informing them that his efforts had received a rude, if not a fatal check ; he says :

"About the middle of November, 1745, the French Indians came to an open rupture with us, and, with a party of French, fell upon a frontier settlement, which they laid in ashes, and made most of the inhabitants, to the number of about a hundred, prisoners ; ever since which time they have kept us in a continual alarm by skulking parties who frequently murdered and carried off the poor inhabitants, treating them in the most inhuman and barbarous manner ; by which means the lately populous and flourishing County of Albany is become a wilderness, and numbers of people, who were possessed of good estates, are reduced to poverty. In the meantime, our Indians could not be prevailed upon to enter into the war, but have deceived us with fair promises from time to time, whilst we were convinced, by undeniable proofs, that they kept a correspondence with the enemy."

It was at this critical juncture that the rectorship of Trinity Church became vacant by the death of Mr. Vesey. The decision of the Wardens and Vestrymen to designate Mr. Barclay as his successor appears to have been an immediate one. The right of presentation to the living vested in them ; to the Governor belonged that of induction and institution. Mr. Barclay took three months to consider the important subject, and confesses that he was greatly at a loss what to do.

"The melancholy situation I was in pressed me on the one hand to accept the kind offer in case they called me, whilst a sincere regard for the interest of religion amongst the heathen nations on the other hand kept me from determining nearly three months ; when, finding no prospect of being serviceable to the Indians, amongst whom I could no longer reside with safety, I thought myself at liberty to leave them, and being presented to the rectory of Trinity Church, I am now agreeably settled in this place."

In the parish records under date October 17, 1746, we read that it was

"Resolved and order'd that the Rev. Mr. Henry Barclay be and the said Mr. Barclay is hereby called as Rector of Trinity Church in this city and that this Board present the said Mr. Barclay to his Excellency the Governor and Desire he may be admitted and Instituted as Rector of and Inducted into the said Church. But Mr. Horsmanden & Mr. Chambers being Desired to Wait on Mr. Barclay and acquaint him with the Resolution of this Board and know whether he would accept of the call waited on him accordingly, who returned and introduced Mr. Barclay into the Vestry where he accepted of the call. And therefore it is ordered that Mr. Murray Mr. Horsmanden, Collo Moore, Mr. Watts, Mr. Reade, Mr. Livingstone or any three of them one of the Church Wardens being one, be a committee to wait on his Excellency the Governor to know when he will be attended by this Board to present the same Mr. Henry Barclay for Admission, Institution and Jurisdiction as Rector of Trinity Church aforesaid that they make their report thereof to the next Vestry."¹

October 22, the committee reported that they had arranged for the presentation of Mr. Barclay to Governor Clinton on the afternoon of that day at five o'clock. The Presentation, the Admission, the Letters of Institution, the Mandate and Certificate of Induction, fill more than four of the large folios of the records.²

¹ Records, i., 236.

² *Ibid.*, i., 236-40. It may be well here to give the presentation :

"To his Excellency the Honourable George Clinton, Esq., Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over the Province of New-York, and Territories thereon depending, in America, and Vice-Admiral of the same, and Vice Admiral of the Red Squadron of his Majesty's fleet :

"We, the Church wardens and Vestry men of Trinity Church in the City of New-York in Communion of the Church of England, as by law established the true and undoubted patrons of the Rectory of the Parish Church of Trinity Church aforesaid, within your Government in all reverence and obedience to Your Excellency due and suitable send Greetings in our Lord God Everlasting, to the said parish Church of Trinity Church aforesaid, now being vacant by the natural death of William Vesey, Clerk, the last incumbent in the same, and to our Presentation of full right belonging, our beloved in Christ, Henry Barclay, Clerk to Your Excellency,—by these presents we do present, humbly praying that you would vouchsafe him, the said Henry Barclay to the same Church to admit him into the Rectory of the same Church, to institute, and cause to be inducted, with all its rights, members and appurtenances, and that you will, with favour and effect, do and fulfill all and singular those things which in this behalf are proper and fitting for your Excellency to do. In testimony thereof, we, the Church Wardens and Vestrymen aforesaid, have to these presents put our



*The Rev. Henry Barclay, D.D.
Appointed Rector October 17th, 1746. Died August 20th, 1764.*

ALBILLO
Y TERCER
Y TERCER

The Certificate of Induction states that the Induction was performed in the presence of the Wardens and Vestry on Sunday October 23d, when the new Rector

"did Read in his parish Church aforesaid openly, Publickly and Sol-
emnly before the Congregation there assembled the Morning and Even-
ing prayers appointed to be Read by and According to the Book
Entitled the Book of Common Prayers and Administration of the Sac-
raments and other rites and ceremonies of the Church, together with
the Psalter or Psalms of David printed as they are to be said or Sung
in Churches"; and it further relates that he "did openly and publickly
before the congregation assembled declare his unfeigned assent and
consent to all and Everything and things contained and prescribed in
and by the book Intituled the Book of Common Prayer."

In the afternoon of the said day he read before the con-
gregation a certificate of his declaration of conformity
made under the hand and seal of Edward, Bishop of Lon-
don, dated December 15, 1737.

That Mr. Barclay never lost his interest in his old mis-
sion work may be inferred from the fact that in the year
1762 we find him undertaking the supervision of a new
edition of the Prayer Book in the Indian tongue.² That he
was held in high esteem for his personal character, attain-
ments, and devotion to his work is equally evident from
the fact that on the 22d of November, 1760, Archbishop
Secker wrote to the Chancellor of the University of Ox-
ford recommending him for the honorary degree of Doctor
of Divinity.

In view of the fact that the course of Dr. Barclay, in

hand and seals this twenty-second day of October, in the year of our Lord one Thou-
sand seven hundred and forty-six." See the Documents printed in Berrian's *Historical
Sketch*, 67-75.

¹ This was printed at New York by Gaine. The first edition, of 1715, was printed
by Bradford. The New York Historical Society has the first and second editions.
See Fields's *Indian Bibliography*, 277; and *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, viii., 815. This
edition was ordered by Sir William Johnson in 1762. The death of Dr. Barclay de-
layed the publication for two years. See also, *N. Y. Doc. Hist.*, iv., 206-211.

leaving his work in and near Albany and accepting the invitation to New York, was unfavorably criticized by some of his contemporaries, attention is called to certain letters addressed, December 6, 1746, to the Bishop of London and the Secretary of the Venerable Society. The writer, after referring to Mr. Vesey, says that the Congregation "almost with one voice" named the Rev. Mr. Barclay to succeed him. They say of the new Rector,

"altho' we were well satisfied of his qualifications in all Respects yet as he was in the service of the Honorable Society and had been instrumental in doing a vast deal of Good among the Heathens, we should not have presumed to have Countenanced the Calling of him had we not been well satisfied that since the war with France he had mett with insupportable discouragement which rendered his Mission and best Endevers fruitless as well as the safety of his person precarious among those Savages in the Mohawk Country which with many other parts of the County of Albany being the ffrontiers of the Province is now Deserted by the Christian inhabitants and almost laid Waste by Barbarians and French, all which with what Mr. Barclay will have the honor of writing to your Lordship upon this Head we humbly hope will be sufficient in your Lordship's Opinion and judgment to justifie our Conduct and proceeding upon this important occasion." They also beg leave to "humbly to recommend our Rector as a worthy gentleman, worthy of your Lordship's favour and Countenance."

In addressing the Society they express the hope that their action "will not be disagreeable to that Venerable Body," repeat the statement made to the Bishop of London, and ask for the continuance of the kindness formerly shown to the parish.¹

Resuming our examination of the minutes of the Vestry, we find that the Corporation had entered upon stormy times, when claimants to the church land under the fancied Bogardus interest, failing in the use of legal means, had resolved to try the efficacy of mendacity and force.

¹ Records, i., 241-44.

As a part of the plan the Browsers built a house upon the land, deeming it probable that actual possession would enable them to support their claim. The Corporation, however, met them very promptly, and it was ordered on August 10, 1747, "that the Church Wardens, Mr. Chambers, Mr. Moore, and Mr. Reade or any three of them (one of the Church Wardens to be one) be a Committee to receive the possession of the house and land part of the Churches farm, forcibly entered into and detained by the Browsers and others. And that the said Browsers have liberty to take away the House by them erected if they think fitt."

The Committee on November 24th reported that strong measures had been taken with regard to the interlopers, saying that they had duly taken possession "of the house, &c Built on the Churches farm by the Browsers and also of the Churches Garden," formerly occupied by Captain George Ingoldsby, and that they had caused the Browsers's house to be "pulled down," agreeing that the Browsers "might have the materialls of the house by them Built if they would fetch it away." Word to this effect was duly sent to them by both sexton and under-sheriff, but the Browsers indignantly "returned for answer that they, the Browsers, would have nothing to do with it"; a resolution that would have proved a fortunate one if it had only been kept.

The Rev. Richard Charlton was assistant minister of Trinity Church and catechist during the early part of Dr. Barclay's rectorship.¹ On the 24th of November,

¹ On Tuesday the 7th Inst. departed this Life, in the 72d year of his Age at his House on Staten Island, the Rev. Mr. RICHARD CHARLTON, Missionary from the honorable Society for the propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

"This worthy Clergyman was born in Ireland, and received his Education in Trinity College, Dublin. He came over to this Country soon after he entered into Holy Orders; and was the first Missionary of New Windsor, on Hudson's River. From

1747, he accepted a missionary station on Staten Island, and the Venerable Society was requested to send a catechist to take his place. In this connection a respectful suggestion was made with reference to candidates for the position ; it being understood that the society had in view a young gentleman of New England recently ordained, it is hinted that "possibly they may not have considered a defect whereof will render all his other good qualities as a preacher useless to our Congregation, we mean the strength and clearness of his voice, our church being by all accounts the largest in America, so that few gentlemen are perfectly heard in it."

At this session it was voted that,

"taking into consideration the Great Expence the Revd Mr. Barclay has been put to in Removing from Albany here, and that sixty pounds per annum of the Ministers Salary ceasing on the death of the late Mr. Vesey, and the said Mr. Barclay having no right to the Easter offerings nor to Double fees on the Buriall of Strangers, it is unanimously ordered that the Church Wardens pay to the Revd Mr. Barclay the sum of one hundred pounds for his services the last year besides his house rent already paid. And the Better to encourage the said Mr. Barclay to continue diligently to perform the Duties of his function, it is also unanimously ordered that the Church Wardens pay to the Said Mr. Barclay the sum of one hundred pounds (including the twenty-six pounds allowed him for house rent) at four quarterly payments for the next year."¹

thence he moved to this City, being chosen Assistant Minister of Trinity Church, and Catechist ; in which station he continued several Years, before his Appointment to the Missionary of Staten-Island, in 1747, where he remained ever since.

"Sincere and Steady in Friendship, charitable to the distressed, and hospitable to all, he was deservedly esteemed and respected. Amidst the confusions of the present rebellion, his loyalty was unshaken—His Attachment to the Constitution, in Church and State, unalterably firm. The great Increase of his Congregation, during his Incumbency for thirty Years at Staten-Island, was an evidence of the Assiduity with which he discharged the Duties of his Office ; and the Tears which were plentifully shed over his Remains at the Grave, by the Members of his Flock, were a sure Indication that they considered themselves as having lost, in him, a common Father and Friend."—*The New-York Gazette and the Weekly Mercury*, Oct. 13, 1777.

¹ Records i., 247.

This shows the liberal and considerate spirit that actuated the Vestry in dealing with the clergy; the same rule was always observed, except where circumstances prevented the Board from doing as it desired.

The fact has been repeatedly stated that the City and Parish Vestries were different bodies. Each Board attended to its own affairs; but the City Vestry, being composed for the most part of Dissenters, was not averse to an occasional brush with the Church Vestry, especially when, as in the case of Governor Hunter, it had the Executive on its side.

About this time another slight breeze seems to have been blowing, as the City Vestry claimed the right to distribute a certain charitable bequest, which fell to the church. The differences between the two bodies, however, were, upon the whole, few, though for their own guidance the City Vestry finally came to need a Manual or Guide, an edition of which was published in 1747.¹

With the name of Barclay will ever be associated that of his assistant, Auchmuty, who shared the labors of his

¹ The following advertisement appeared in the *New-York Gazette revived in the Weekly Post-Boy*, Dec. 6, 1747, though no copy of the work seems to be accessible at the present time:

"Just publish'd, and to be sold by the Printer hereof, (Price 8d.)

"*A GUIDE TO VESTRYMEN: OR, AN ESSAY, endeavouring to Shew the Duty and Power of the Vestrymen of the City and County of New York. Collected from diverse Acts of Assembly of the Colony of New-York and Customs of the said City: Interspersed with some Considerations and Reflections, proper for such who may hereafter be chosen to said Office and intended chiefly for their Use.*

"Published by the Corporation.

"Prov. xxix: 7, 'The Righteous considereth the Cause of the Poor; but the Wicked regardeth not to know it.'"

The following shows one aspect of the City Vestry's work: "Ordered the Church Wardens lend Phillip Batten, Butcher, *thirty shillings*, in order to go on with his trade, (he being reduced to great poverty by reason of his wife being delirious,) being an object of Charity." De Voe's *Market Book*, vol. i., 91. This work which forms a mine of curious and valuable information about old New York, also shows that the City Vestry put badges upon the clothes furnished the poor, marked "N. Y. in blew or red cloth att their discretion."

arduous position for sixteen of the eighteen years of his rectorship, and, on his death, was advanced to the vacant place. Samuel Auchmuty was born in Boston, January 26, 1722. His father, Robert Auchmuty, was a Scotch gentleman, a lawyer and Judge in Admiralty, who came to this country early in life, dying in 1750. The son, having graduated at Harvard College, in the year 1742, was admitted to holy orders in 1747, by the Bishop of London; and on the 8th of March in the following year entered on his duties as assistant minister of Trinity Church. As such assistant, he had to read prayers in the church, to aid the rector in his parochial duties, and to serve as catechist to the colored population. In the year 1766 he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Oxford, and in the following year the same honor was conferred on him by King's College in New York.

The selection of Mr Auchmuty was a judicious and happy one, and the evidences of his talents and usefulness become more and more apparent as we proceed.

The growth of the parish under the administration of Dr. Barclay, seconded by his able assistant, was rapid and solid; and it soon appeared to be necessary to provide additional accommodation for the people, by the erection of a "Chapel of Ease," as such *dépendances* of the parish church are styled in the phraseology of English ecclesiastical law.

It was a mooted question for some time where the new edifice should be placed. The site first selected fronted on Nassau and Fair (now Fulton) streets; but the inhabitants of "Montgomerie Ward,"¹ a part of the

¹ Montgomery Ward was that part of the town lying east of William Street, the North Ward being situated between William and Broadway and the West Ward west of Broadway, while the South Ward was south of Wall Street.

city subsequently and still known as "the Swamp," were exceedingly desirous that the chapel should be built in their district; nay, they offered to purchase the land required and give it to the Vestry on condition that their wishes should be complied with. On the 23d of January, 1749, it was agreed in Vestry Meeting that the Committee on the title to Mr. Beekman's ground near "the Swamp" have power to purchase the same, and that the land be conveyed

"to the Rector and Inhabitants of Trinity Church, and that when such purchase shall be so made that they agree with James Burling for exchanging part of the said ground for a Lott of ground belonging to the said James Burling adjoining thereto such part thereof as they can agree with him to exchange for the same."¹

At the same meeting the Committee on Plans reported and "produced severall plans," when it was unanimously voted "that the Chapple of Ease be built," and that it should be "ninety-two foot in length and seventy-two foot in breadth."

At the Vestry meeting March 23, 1749, the committee reported the actual purchase of the six lots of Mr. Beekman's land. Captain Aspinwall had now, however, on behalf of certain citizens of Montgomerie Ward, paid £645 for the lots in question. An adjoining lot was also purchased of John Killmaster and his wife, for which the parish paid £125 the following year. Robert Crommelin, a Scotchman, and a member of the Vestry, was selected as architect, and the work of construction was commenced. It proceeded slowly, and two years and a half had passed before the building was ready for use.

It may be well at this point to quote the description of New York at this period, given by the distinguished Swedish traveller and naturalist, Professor Kalm, who vis-

¹ Records i., 253.

ited the country in 1748, and made observations which are often quoted on account of their correctness and value. Speaking of the general appearance of the city, he says :

"The ground it is built on is level in some parts and hilly in others. . . . In size it comes nearest to Boston and Philadelphia. But with regard to its fine buildings, its opulence and extensive commerce, it disputes the preference with them ; at present,¹ it is about half as big again as Gottenburgh, in Sweden,"

concerning the size of which the present reader, perhaps, has no very definite conception. We can understand him better when he says that

"In the chief streets there are trees planted, which in summer give them a fine appearance, and during the excessive heat of that time, afford a cooling shade : I found it extremely pleasant to walk in the town, for it seemed quite like a garden : the trees which are planted for this purpose are chiefly of two kinds. The *Water beech* or *Linnæus's Platanus occidentalis*, are the most numerous, and give an agreeable shade in summer, by their great and numerous leaves. The *Locust tree* or *Linnæus's Robinia Pseud-Acacie* is likewise frequent : its fine leaves, and the odoriferous scent which exhales from its flowers, make it very proper for being planted in the streets near the houses and in gardens. There are likewise lime trees and elms in these walks, but they are not by far so frequent as the others : one seldom met trees of the same sort next to each other, they being in general planted alternately."

He also speaks of the birds that nest in the trees and

"likewise a kind of frogs which frequent them in great numbers in summer ; they are Dr. Linnæus's *Rana arborea*, and especially the American variety of this animal : they are very clamorous in the evening and in the nights (especially when the days had been hot, and a rain was expected) and in a manner drown the singing of the birds. They frequently make such a noise that it is difficult for a person to make himself heard." "

He goes on to say that most of the houses were of brick, many having gables turned to the street, with bal-

¹ *Travels*, i. 193

² *Ibid.*, i., 194

conies on the roof where the people spent their evenings. The walls of the houses within were whitewashed. He saw no hangings, but the "walls were quite covered with all sorts of drawings and pictures in small frames."

As to the churches he observes that there are several in the town which deserve some attention.

"1. *The English Church*, built in the year 1695 at the west end of town, consisting of stone and has a steeple with a bell. 2. *The new Dutch Church*, which is likewise built of stone, is pretty large, and is provided with a steeple; it has also a clock, which is the only one in the town. This church stands almost due from north to south. No particular point of the compass has here been in general attended to in erecting sacred buildings. Some churches stand, as is usual, from east to west, others from south to north, and others in different positions. In this Dutch Church there is neither altar, vestry, choir, sconces, nor paintings. Some trees are planted round about it, which make it look as if it were built in a wood. 3. *The Old Dutch Church*, which is also built of stone. It is not so large as the new one. It was painted in the inside, though without any images, and adorned with a small organ, of which governor *Burnet* made them a present. The men for the most part sit in the gallery and the women below. 4. *The Presbyterian church*, which is pretty large, and was built but lately. It is of stone and has a steeple and a bell in it. 5. *The German Lutheran Church*. 6. *The German Reformed Church*. 7. *The French Church*, for protestant refugees. 8. *The Quaker Meeting House*. 9. To these may be added *the Jewish Synagogue*, which I mentioned before."¹

The Jewish services had impressed the traveller.

"A young *Rabbi* read the divine service, which was partly in *Hebrew* and partly in the *Rabbinical* dialect. . . . During prayers the men spread a white cloth over their heads; which perhaps is to represent sack cloth."²

One of the most interesting and valuable adjuncts to the parish church at this time was the Charity School. Mr. Hildreth, the schoolmaster, reports April 1, 1749, to the Venerable Society as follows:

¹ *Travels*, i., 196.

² *Ibid.*, i., 192.

"I have Fifty Schollars, whom I teach entirely at the Society's Bounty, and daily give attendance at the accustomed time, about 30 of which have been baptised in y^e Church of England, & the rest of Dissenting parents, I have likewise about 20 Negroes who come to me in the Evenings to be instructed in singing the Psalm tunes &c. There are besides mine, 9 English, 2 Lattin, 1 French and 1 Dutch School."¹

In August following we find that preparations are afoot for a concert for the benefit of the school, precisely in the modern style of procedure :

"The Gentlemen who performed at the subscription concert proposed to this Board that if they would permitt them to use the School Room in the new Charity School and prepare a platform and closet proper they would pay ten shillings for each night and play at a Benefit Concert for the use of the Poor Children and paying so much for the same use as they can afford out of their subscription,"

all of which seems to have been agreed to.

In the month of December, 1749, a great sensation was caused in polite society by the weddings of the rector and his assistant. The *Post Boy* of the 18th of that month contained the following announcement :

"On Tuesday Evening last, the Reverend Mr. BARCLAY, Rector of *Trinity-Church* in this City, was married to Miss RUTGERS, Daughter of the late Capt. *Anthony Rutgers* ; and the next Evening his Assistant the Reverend Mr. AUCHMUTY, was married to Mrs. TUCKER, Widow of the late Capt. *Tucker* : both Ladies of great Merit and valuable Accomplishments."

In the issue of December 25th of this paper some lines are given which will be read with interest as illustrating the literary taste of the day.

"*Mr. Parker,*

"*Your inserting the following occasional Lines in your next Paper, will oblige your constant Reader,*

"PHILOGAMOS."

¹ *N. Y. Gen. Conv. MSS.*, ii., 222.

"Inspiring *Phæbus* ! warm my friendly Mind,
 With all that's good, that's just, sublime or kind :
 And all ye sacred Nine ! afford me Aid,
 While with the Man, I sing the lovely Maid.
 A Pair so match'd : If Bliss can be compleat
 On Earth ; 'tis here, and only here 'tis meet.
Fove thought, when first he formed the charming Fair,
 The Charge too great for any Mortal Care :
 'Till B——LAY'S Fame found Favour in his Eyes,
 And prov'd his Merit worthy of the Prize.
 All Heav'n approv'd, and not one Voice deny'd,
 When the God said, *Let her be B——LAY's Bride.*"

" *Mr. Parker,*

" *Please to insert the following lines in your next, and you'll oblige your constant reader.*

" Since *B——lay's* Praise, the Poet has proclaim'd,
 To sound A——*TY's*, sure I can't be blamed.
 If Wit and Beauty, with good Nature join'd,
 The matrimonial Bands can stronger bind,
 A——*TY's* Choice, must be by all approv'd,
 Since all three joined in the Fair he lov'd.
 May Heaven's Blessings on them here descend,
 And Health and Wealth continue to the End." ¹

December 21, 1749, Mr. Barclay writes concerning Mr. Michael Houdin,

"late a priest of the Church of Rome & Superior of a Convent in Cannada, who about five years ago came into this Province and hath publicly renounced the Errors of that Church, and taken the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy and has sustained an exceeding good character and is desirous to enter into the Service of the Church."

He desired a license for Mr. Houdin to preach. The same letter concludes with this pathetic expression :

" I am much pleased to find the Hopes of having a Bishop to reside in the Plantations not altogether laid aside, I pray God bless and succeed all endeavours used to effect so pious and necessary a work." ²

¹ *The Weekly Post-Boy*, Jan. 1, 1750.

² *N. Y. Gen. Conv. MSS.* ii., 224. In 1761 he refers to "Messrs. Ogilvie and Houdin" being detained in Canada with General Amherst. In 1763 Mr. Houdin was at New Rochelle. *Ibid.*, ii., 325.

In the year 1750 the parish sustained a heavy loss in the destruction of the school-house by fire ; the church also was in great danger ; and, most unfortunately, all the Parish Registers containing baptisms, marriages, and burials perished in the flames—an irreparable loss. The details of the calamity are not given in the records, but the papers of the day afford a tolerable account of the fire. We read as follows in the *Post Boy* of February 26, 1750 :

“ *New-York, February 26.* Friday Morning last about 4 o’Clock, a violent Fire broke out in the new Free-School-House, Kept by Mr. *Joseph Hildreth*, Clerk of *Trinity Church* in this City ; which got to such a Height before it was discovered, as to render it impossible to save it from being entirely destroyed ; . . . and tho’ it stood at a considerable Distance from the Church, yet the Flames ascended so high, and carried with them such Abundance of live Coals, as to put the Church in imminent Danger, particularly the Steeple ; which was set on Fire five several Times, almost at the Top, what little Wind there was setting directly on it ; notwithstanding which, *by the good Providence of God*, and the Diligence and Activity of a few Persons within who broke Holes through, it was happily extinguished, and preserved : . . . There was scarce any Thing saved out of the house, from the Fury of the Fire ; and we are assured, besides a great deal of Furniture and other Things, the Records of the Church are entirely consumed. The whole Loss sustain’d, is supposed to be near *Two Thousand Pounds Value*.”¹

¹ The Poet was at hand and wrote in the issue of March 5 :

“ *Mr. Parker,*

“ *Your inserting the following Lines on the Loss of the Charity School, which was destroyed by Fire, on Friday the 23 of February last, will oblige several of your Readers, particularly Your humble Servant,*

— *W.*

“ Come, see this Edeifice in Ruin lye,
Which lately charmed each Spectator’s Eye ;
See, and lament the well proportioned Frame,
Consum’d by a relentless cruel Flame.
On the bold Structure when it first was rais’d
Each kind Contributor with Pleasure gaz’d ;
They gaz’d, and wish’d it might remain in Peace
To ages ; and the Christian Flock increase.
Mourn, Mourn, ye Orphans, its untimely Fate,
See, and lament the Shortness of its Date ;
Founded for you, in Charity design’d,
T’ improve your Parts, and Cultivate your Mind.

The destruction of the schoolhouse was a serious loss to the Church, but it proved particularly severe upon poor Mr. Hildreth, the exemplary schoolmaster, who lived in the building and happened to be away that night, thus giving color to the suspicion excited, that he was connected with the fire. Mr. James Napier, however, deposed before Mayor Holland, that none of the circumstances were discreditable to Mr. Hildreth, who was at his house late on business, and, the schoolmaster's family being out of town, the latter was invited to pass the night, and that while his guest the fire occurred.¹

But let our just Concern for that give Way
To grateful Thoughts, which we are bound to pay ;
God's House remains, let that our Thanks excite
With Gratitude this Miracle recite.
The Flame fierce flying touch'd the hallow'd Spire,
The Flames attack'd it, and the Winds conspire
To Set the Church, the House of GOD on Fire.
But now, GOD's interposing Power we spy,
To save His Temple he himself draws nigh ;
Nought but a Power Divine, in such a Case
Could give the Means employ'd the least Success.
They too deserve our Thanks and great Regard,
Who gloriously such mighty Dangers dar'd
On, may they live to serve and bless the LORD,
And with his faithful Church his Love record.
Let's go with Joy into his House of Prayer,
And sing with one Consent his Praises there."

¹ The following letter and Mr. Napier's full affidavit appeared in the *Post Boy*, March 5.

" *Mr. Parker,*

" I desire you'll print the Affidavit herewith sent, in your next *Gazette*, that those who have either inadvertently or maliciously, aspers'd my Character, at a Time when I had lost my ALL, by the merciless Flames, and when it would have become them much better, to have assisted me and my poor Family, with their Charity ; may judge whether the Calumny proceeded from the Envy some Persons in this Town had to my person, or the Station I was in. And I hereby beg all those who have been so ill natured, as to cast a Blemish on my Reputation, and thereby added to my Affliction, if they can prove any of those gross Immoralities wherewith they have charged me, to do it as publickly and speedily as they can ; otherwise let them take Shame to themselves, and endeavour to repair the great Loss I have sustained by Means of their False Aspersions.

JOSEPH HILDRETH."

The New York *Independent Reflector* of January 11, 1753, in an article devoted to proposals respecting a better mode of extinguishing fires, gives the account of a fire that caught on the steeple of Trinity Church. The writer says :

"It hath more than once been observed, that our Engines are incapable of throwing Water, to such a Height as is sometimes necessary. Of this we had a dreadful Instance when the Steeple of *Trinity Church* took Fire. On that Occasion, we observed with universal Terror, that the Engines could scarce deliver the Water, to the Top of the Roof. The Spire, however, was far beyond its Reach : and had not Providence smiled upon the astonishing Dexterity and Resolution of a few Men, who ascended the Steeple within, that splendid and superb ¹ Edifice, had in all Probability, been reduced to Ashes."

The Wardens and Vestry at once rallied to make good the loss, and February 23, 1750, it was voted

"that Mr. Charles Jandine forthwith Repair the Spire of Trinity Church and Repair the Fences round the Cemetery, which were broke and burnt at the unhappy fire at the School-house this morning, and that he also make proper ladders or stairs to go up in the Belfry into the Spire of the Church."

A committee was also appointed

"to inquire who were active and serviceable in particular manner at putting out the fire on the Spire of Trinity Church and make their report to this Board."

March 1st, following, the committee reported that

"Davis Hunt was the first man in the Spire of the Steeple and he put out the two lowermost fires, being assisted by a fat man whose name he does not know and he soon went away. Andrew Gotier and Francis Davidson put out the uppermost flame in the Spire, and Gotier and David Robinson a Tobacconist put out the third flame in the Spire. Mr. Davidson put out the flames on the Cornish with one Cornelius McCarty, who was also very active there. Mr. Kippin the Blockmaker was all the time on the roof of the Church and Mr. Gotier was also there for some time with him."

¹ It seems that the word "superb" as applied to buildings was objected to by critics. See the "*Reflector*," February 1, 1753.

This information was given by Gotier, Davidson, Jandine and Hunt.¹

April 26th, 1750, it being the opinion of the Board that the Church schoolhouse ought to be rebuilt, it was voted that the wardens and Mr. Nicholls "prepare a draft of a subscription paper."

The members of the theatrical profession, with a promptness and kindness characteristic of them at all times, came to the aid of the school. We read :

"By his EXCELLENCY's Permission :

At the Theatre in Nassau Street,

To morrow Evening will be presented

For the Benefit of the CHARITY SCHOOL in this City,

A Tragedy, called The ORPHAN ; or, the Unhappy Marriage.

Wrote by the ingenious Mr. OTWAY.

Tickets to be had at the Theatre in Nassau Street, and of the Printer hereof ; PITT, 5s. Gallery 3s.

*To begin precisely at half an Hour after 6 o'Clock and no Person to be admitted behind the Scenes."*²

On Good Friday, April 5, 1751, the Rector preached the sermon at Trinity Church, from Matthew xxvi, 38, in which he dwelt upon the suffering Christ. About seventy manuscript sermons by Dr. Auchmuty have been preserved, extending from the year 1749 to 1776. These sermons, it would appear, were sent to the office of the Venerable Society at London, where they were found by the Rev. Dr. Hawks, who brought them to New York. They subsequently passed into the possession of a lady, a descendant of Dr. Auchmuty, who was living in Washington, D. C. Through the kind intervention of the late lamented Richard T. Auchmuty, Esq., these discourses were obtained for examination.

¹ Records, i., 257.

² *The New-York Gazette, Revived in the Weekly Post-Boy*, March 26, 1750.

The first in the series, written, like all the rest, in a somewhat strong and plain hand, was preached at Trinity Church, February 26, 1748-9, and again "at both chhs March 5, 1758", the text being, "There is Mercy with Thee, therefore Thou shalt be feared." The subject was "Forgiveness," but it contains nothing of interest in the present connection, though the composition shows a very sober and devout frame of mind.

An Advent sermon, preached in 1749, shows his manner of presenting some subjects; on reaching a certain point the preacher says :

"It is therefore consonant to Reason, as well as determined by Revelation yt ye Day of Judgment for all mankd shd be at ye end of ye world ; & yt this beautiful fabrick shd be destroyed or quite changed, when mankd, for whom it was erected, shall be removed from it, or entirely changed. We are therefore justified in regarding those subterranean Fires wh now frequently break forth, deform the face of ye Earth & punish its wicked Inhabitants, as parts of those dreadful Magazines wch ye dire Vengeance hath prepared agst yt Day, when Deluges of Flame shall everywhere burst out, overspread ye whole Earth, & at one sweep destroy all the seats & instruments of human pride, Luxury and sensuality, when Citys, palaces, groves, gardens, flowery fields, Hills gently rising clothed with verdure & fruits, and pouring down on ye valleys beneath ye Streams wch enrich evy part, deli't ye Ey & charm ye Ear ;—when these shall all be lost in one burning waste, one horrid uniform blaze—when ye Imense watr'y Stores of ye Ocean shall Evaporate into Smoke, & leave its womb dry, & a prey to ye prevailing fire."

In the year 1751, Frederick, Prince of Wales, died, and his brother George was created Prince of Wales in his place. The Province went into mourning, and sermons suitable for the occasion were preached, says the journal of that day, "both at Trinity Church and in the Presbyterian Meeting, and their respective Pulpits hung in black."

Soon after a proclamation was issued, which is inserted here in full, as showing the connection between the Church and the State in those days :

"By his Excellency the Honourable GEORGE CLINTON, Captain General and Governor in Chief of the Province of New-York, and Territories thereon depending in America, Vice Admiral of the same, and Admiral of the White Squadron of his Majesty's Fleet.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS His Majesty's Order in Council, the Twenty-fourth Day of *April* last, hath been lately transmitted to me, importing, That his Majesty having been pleased to create his Royal Highness Prince GEORGE *Prince of Wales*; it was thereupon Ordered, That in the Morning and Evening Prayers, in the Litany, and all other Parts of publick Service, as well in the Occasional Offices, as in the Book of Common Prayer where the Royal Family is appointed to be particularly prayed for, the following Form and Order should be observed, *viz.*,

Their Royal Highnesses GEORGE Prince of Wales, the Princess Dowager of Wales, the Duke, the Princesses and all the Royal Family.

And that I should cause the same to be forthwith published in the several Parish Churches, and other Places of Divine Worship within this Province, and take care that Obedience be paid thereto accordingly.

I do therefore, with the Advice of his Majesty's Council of this Province, hereby in his Majesty's Name, strictly charge, require and command, all and every of the respective Rectors, Pastors, Vicars, Curates and all other Ministers of the Gospel within this Province of *New-York*; That in the Morning and evening prayers, in the Litany, and all other Parts of the publick Service, as well in the Occasional Offices, as in the Book of Common Prayer, where the Royal Family is appointed to be particularly prayed for; they do punctually observe and follow the aforementioned Form and Order; and that they do also forthwith publish this Proclamation in their several Parish Churches, and other places of Divine Worship.

GIVEN *under my Hand and Seal at Arms*, at Fort-George, in the City of New-York, the *Twenty-fifth Day of October*, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty-one, and in the *Twenty-fifth Year of his Majesty's Reign.*

G. CLINTON.

By his Excellency's Command,
Geo. Banyar, Dep. Secry.

GOD SAVE THE KING."¹

¹ *The Weekly Post Boy*, Oct. 28, 1751.

June 4, 1751.

"Mr. Oliver De Lancey acquainted this Board that he had received a letter from Sir Peter Warren, directing him to pay one hundred pounds sterling towards the building of St. Georges Chappell, and desiring if it was not Inconsistent with the Rules of the Church that a pew might be appointed for Sir Peter and his Family in case they should come to this country; and Mr. DeLancy acquainted this Board that he was ready to pay the said money as this Board should order."¹

The Board accordingly ordered that the wishes of Sir Peter should be complied with, in case he came to New York.

The following extract from the Minutes of March 5, 1752, is interesting in its relation to the subsequent foundation of King's College, now expanded into the great Columbia University :

"It being unanimously agreed by this Board that a proposall be made to the Commissioners appointed to receive proposalls for the Building of a College that this Board is willing to give any Reasonable Quantity of the Churches Farm which is not let out for the erecting and use of a Colledge, It is Ordered that the Rector and Church Wardens be a Committee to wait on the said Commissioners and make the aforesaid proposall to them and conferr with them thereupon."

In the minutes of the same meeting we read,

"That an advertisement be Incerted in Mr. Parker's next news Paper for letting that part of the Churches Farm to the Northward of the Stockadoes either Intire or in Parcels."

¹ Records, i., 262.

² *Ibid.*, i., 264. The *Gazette*, October 30, contains an advertisement that "To-morrow will be published Some thoughts on Education; with reasons for Erecting a College in this Province, and fixing the same at the City of *New-York*. To which is added a scheme for Employing Masters and Teachers in the mean Time; and also for raising and endowing an Edifice in an Easy Manner. The whole concluding with a POEM, being a serious address to the House of Representatives." See also "Remarks on our intended College," the *Reflector*, No. 17, March 22, 1753; also Nos. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22.

³ Records, i., 263. The following advertisement shows how the order was carried out; while the next shows the uses to which the people put the farm.

"To BE LETT, That part of the CHURCH'S-FARM, (commonly called the *King's Farm*) which lies to the Northward of the Stockadoes either entire or in Parcels.

April 1, 1752.

"Ordered that Mr. Marston, Mr. Duncan and Mr. Nicholls be a Committee to treat and agree with Mr. Wollaston to copy the late Revd Commissary Vesey's picture a half length in order to be placed in the Vestry Room." ¹

April 25, 1752.

"Mr. John Clemm appeared at this Board and agreed to take down the Organ, clean it, mend the Bellows and Pipes and other parts thereof and put it up again and tune it and find and furnish all the materials and alter the Keys in a proper manner for the sum of twenty pounds. And also to compleat the Cornet and Sesqui alto stops formerly made by him and paid for by this Board in such manner as Mr. Dies and Mr. Rice shall Direct without any further charge to this Board."

Mr. Clemm also offered

"to make a Vox Humana stop for the Organ for the sum of twenty-five pounds, and that if Mr. Dies and Mr. Rice shall judge it not Good that this Board may be at liberty not to take it"; but the record states, "as he cannot now stay to make the said Stop the matter is deferred until his return from Philadelphia." ²

The chapel, which had been begun in 1749, was now, at length, completed. In the Record of the meeting, May 20, 1752, we find it stated

"That Wednesday the first day of July next be and is hereby appointed for opening St. Georges Chappell of this City, and that notice be given thereof in Trinity Church the two preceding Sundays, and ordered that the Rector, Collo. Robinson and Mr. Mayor be a Committee to waite on

Any Person or Persons that are inclinable to hire the same, may apply to Col. JOSEPH ROBINSON."—*The Weekly Post Boy*, February 17, 1752.

Good Pasture for Cattle or Horses, to be had of CORNELIUS VAN DEN BERGH, at the *King's Farm*, in *New-York*.—*The Weekly Post Boy*, April 27, 1752.

¹ Records, i., 265, Dunlap says in his *History of the Arts of Design* (i., 103), "A gentleman of the name of Woolaston painted portraits in Philadelphia in 1758, and in Maryland, 1759-60; I know nothing more of him but that Francis Hopkinson published verses in his praise in the *American Magazine*, for September, 1758" (See Records, i., 265.) A very old portrait of Dr. Vesey hangs in the Sacristy of Trinity Chapel, with the portraits of his successors.

² Records, i., 266.

his Excellency the Governour and Inform him thereof some time before notice be given in the Church.”¹

The following notice of the opening of the chapel appeared in the *Post Boy*:

“*New York, July 6.* Last Wednesday, being the Day appointed for the consecration of *St. George's Chapel*, lately erected in this City, the Rector, Assistant, Church Wardens and Vestry of Trinity-Church, assembled at the Vestry-Room, in the Charity School-House; where they were met by some of the Town and neighbouring Clergy, and other Gentlemen of Distinction; from whence (attended by fifty-two Charity Schollars) they went in Procession as far as the City-Hall, when they were joined by the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and Common-Council. They all proceeded with great Regularity and Decorum, to the Chapel where divine Service was perform'd and the Rev. Mr. *Barckley* preach'd an excellent Sermon, adapted to the Occasion from *Lev. xxvi. 2. Reverence my Sanctuary: I am the Lord.*”²

This account, it would appear, gave dissatisfaction, and the next issue contained the following:

“New York, July 13, 1752.

“*Mr. Parker.*

“*The following Account of the Opening of St. George's Chapel, was sent to the press, last Saturday a Week, to be inserted, at the Request of many of your Readers in your Gazette; but to their great Surprise, when the Paper came out, on Monday following, they found the Account they had sent, strangely perverted, curtail'd and maimed; you are therefore desired to insert in your next verbatim.*

“Last Wednesday (being the Day appointed) was open'd *St. George's Chapel*, upon which Occasion, the Rector, Assistant, Church-Wardens, and Vestry, of *Trinity-Church* assembled in the *Vestry-Room*, in the *Charity School-House*, where they were met by some of the Town and neighbouring Clergy, and other Gentlemen of Distinction, from whence they set out in regular Form and Order, attended by the *Charity Scholars*, 40 Boys and 12 Girls, who walk'd before in Pairs, with their School-Master at the Head of them; and at the *City Hall*, were join'd by the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, and Common Council. After which, they all proceeded to the *Chapel*, where Divine Service was perform'd, with the utmost Decency and Propriety. The whole Ceremony concluded

¹ Records, i., 266.

² *The Weekly Post Boy*, July 6, 1752.



ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL,

BEEKMAN STREET N.Y.

ERECTED 1732.

ALBUQUERQUE
YTERVIR
YRABALI

with an excellent Sermon, preach'd by the Rev. Mr. HENRY BARCLAY, Rector of *Trinity-Church*, suitable to the Occasion from these Words, *Lev. xxvi. 2,—Reverence my Sanctuary: I am the Lord.*"¹

To the Rev. Samuel Auchmuty, the assistant minister of the parish church, was assigned the special charge of the chapel. In addition to other duties he had stated catechetical exercises for both whites and blacks at the chapel every Friday afternoon which appear to have been well attended. The historian William Smith witnesses to the rapid growth of the Church in the City of New York at this period, admitting that it was caused not merely by the arrival of members of our Communion from the old country, but also by the adhesion of proselytes from the Dutch churches. The erection of St. George's Chapel must have given a new impulse to this movement and greatly added to the influence of the Church in the community.

As regards the building itself, Dr. Berrian has written :

"St. George's Chapel was a very neat edifice, built after the plan of Robert Crommelin, a member of the Vestry, and an architect of considerable taste and skill. It was faced with hewn stone, and tiled. It was ninety-two feet in length, exclusive of the chancel, and seventy-two feet in breadth. The steeple, which was lofty, but irregular, was one hundred and seventy-five feet in height. The Chapel was situated in a new, crowded and ill built part of the city, and its spaciousness, solidity, and beauty, was only one of the evidences of the liberal spirit and thoughtful forecast of the Vestry of Trinity Church, in anticipating and preparing the way for the future growth and improvement of the city. This venerable edifice in which I worshipped for several years in early life, and in which I was confirmed, and which consequently was greatly endeared to me, was unhappily destroyed by fire, with the exception of the walls, in the month of January, 1814, but was rebuilt and restored the following year."²

¹ This is followed by a lengthy apology, explaining that the printer was out of town when the previous notice came, that the copy was not signed, and, accordingly, by advice of several gentlemen who were consulted the changes were made, but not with any intention of disrespect.

² *Historical Sketch*, 82.

Dr. Berrian also says of the great work done at this period in the parish,

"According to the Parish Register and other accounts, it appears that the calls on its ministers for some of their pastoral duties were even much more frequent than at the present day. From 1763 to 1764, one hundred and thirty-seven couples were married, and during the same time four hundred and thirty-one adults and children were baptized. There has been nothing comparable to this, even in the most flourishing states of the Parish during my long connection with it." ¹

Speaking of the establishment of St. George's Chapel and the growth of the Church, he says :

"If the statement of Smith, the historian of New-York, that the proportion of Episcopalians to the dissenters in the colony was scarcely as one to fifteen, this was a most remarkable circumstance, and spoke well for the zeal and diligence of the ministers of Trinity Church. For there were at the time only eight places of worship belonging to dissenters in the City of New-York, some of which were small, so that the proportion of Episcopalians had risen here at least as one to five." ²

The next extract to be quoted brings to notice one who was destined to fill a most important function in the parish.

January 31, 1753, it was

"Ordered that William Tuckey (who is appointed by the Rector to officiate as Clerk jointly with Mr. Eldridge till further Order) be allowed the annual salary of twenty-five pounds from the first of this month. That he officiate Alternately one Sunday & another at the Chappel, Unless the Rector upon any Occasion shall think fitt to order it otherways ; but that the said William Tuckey have Nothing to do with the Perquisites of the Clerk's Office, but that the same shall still wholly belong to Mr. Eldridge, And that Collo Robinson pay Mr. Ludlow Thirteen Pounds Sterling (upon the arrival of s:d Tuckey's wife and children which he has advanced for their passage)." ³

¹ *Historical Sketch*, 83.

² *Ibid.* 77. At the outset the computation made about one churchman to each thirty or forty inhabitants.

³ Records, i., 268.

Also it was ordered that sixty pounds each be paid to the rector and his assistant in addition to the annual allowance, "in consideration of their extraordinary duty at the Chappel, until another minister be provided."

Mr. Tuckey presently appears in his character as a musician and on March 16th, it was agreed that

"Mr. Tuckey have the use of the Charity School Room and also of the Vestry Room two nights of the week for the teaching of his singing scholars till further orders."¹

Under his direction the music of the parish rose to a high degree of excellence and attracted general attention.

¹ Records, i., 269.

CHAPTER XVII.

DR. BARCLAY'S RECTORSHIP, CONTINUED.

Presages of Coming Trouble in the Provinces—Sir Danvers Osborne's Short Administration—Addresses on the Occasion of his Death—The College—Appointment of Dr. Johnson as its Head—Dissatisfaction of Non-Conformists and Dissenters—Dr. Johnson's Advertisement to Parents—Free Masons Attend Service in Trinity on St. John's Day—Movements on the Frontier under Amherst—Notable Sermons by Auchmuty.

THE first Chapel of Ease being now completed, and opened, the work proceeding under able direction, and the cause of the Church daily strengthening, it is proposed to say something of the affairs of the province, for the progress and interests of the Church are so closely inwoven with them, that they go on the same line. The minutes of the Vestry, it is true, contain little on the subject of political events, and throw no light upon them; but undoubtedly the parish must have been tingling from centre to circumference with the agitation of the times. The aspect of public affairs grew daily more complicated. Clinton was the Governor of the province at the time of Mr. Barclay's induction to the rectorship. James De Lancey, Chief Justice, filled a large place in the public view, and seemed to be a power behind the chair of office much stronger than the representative of royalty himself. Governor Clinton had a long battle with the Assembly, in which he fared so ill, that at last, broken in health, disheartened and discouraged, he begged to be relieved of a thankless charge, and returned to England. This was in the year 1753, when Barclay had been rector seven years. Times had greatly changed since the peo-

ple of New York were wrangling over Leisler's bones ; new issues had arisen ; parties took wider views and aimed at larger things ; religious animosities had condensed, and it was now Churchman against Presbyterian, as if society were arrayed in rival ecclesiastical camps. Free Masonry was active, and in alliance with the conservative elements in the city, repelling charges brought against it by its enemies. The question between the prerogative of the crown and the alleged rights of the people, though still lacking very definite outline, was fast taking ominous shape. Everywhere the elements of direful strife were in preparation. Looking back to those days, after the lapse of a century and a half, we see more clearly than they did who were in the cloud. We can afford to yield a measure of sympathy to Governor Clinton and some of his unfortunate successors, and to withhold approval of a part, at least, of the acts of their opponents ; nor need one be ashamed to express the conviction that the men who, during those trying days, down to the hour in which the Revolution broke upon the land in fire and tempest, stood firm for the King and the institutions under which they had been reared, and finally underwent the penalties of poverty, exile, and death for the crime of allegiance to the system which they loved, deserve respect for consistency and courage. The social history of the province has not yet been written fully or fairly ; it is imperfectly known ; few have studied it ; but when the whole truth comes out, it may appear that the sorrow, the nobility of soul, the greatness of heart, and the keenness of unmerited suffering were not all on the side of the patriots and the revolutionists. The cause of the Crown had its martyrs also.

The main contention between the Royal Governors and the Assembly was about the compensation of the representatives of the Home Government ; whether it should

be fixed for a long time in advance or voted from year to year. In the latter case, the King's Vicegerent was kept in a condition of humiliating dependence, hanging as it were on the will of the popular legislature; this the Governors naturally and justly resented. But the Assembly was tenacious of power; it seemed to take delight in tormenting the chief magistrate and witnessing his unavailing struggles. To circumscribe the power of the Crown and enlarge that of the people was now the leading object; and the Royal Governors, confronted by this apparition of a rising democracy, and suffering from its demonstrations, invoke from their resting-places the commiseration of charitable men. What more pathetic, for example, than the story of the unfortunate Sir Danvers Osborne? He deserves a place in a new and enlarged edition—were such to be published—of the *Mirror of Magistrates*.

It was on the 6th of June, 1753, that Sir Danvers Osborne, Bart., was designated as Governor, on the retirement of Clinton.¹ The unfortunate gentlemen reached New York September 7th; on the following day Governor Clinton came to town from his residence at Flushing and inducted him into office. Sir Danvers appears to have been afflicted with melancholia, a condition which rendered him keenly sensitive to rudeness and affront. Going to the Town Hall to enter upon his duties, he was assailed by a vulgar and insolent rabble, who spared no injurious expression as he passed by. Distressed by these demonstrations, and receiving the sullen refusal of a stubborn Assembly in reply to his first request, he exclaimed, "What was I sent here for?" and sank into a state of despondency, from which he never emerged. On the morning of the 12th of October he was found suspended by a handkerchief from the fence of the house of Mr. Murray, a

¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi., 788-91, 793-99, 803-6.

member of the Council, whose guest he had been. The shocking event produced a great sensation: the *Post Boy* thus refers to it under date of October 15th:

“To the great and inexpressible Grief of all the Inhabitants, his Excellency, after frequent Complaints of Indisposition, died suddenly on Friday last, and the next Day was interred in a Vault prepared for the Purpose, in the Chancel of Trinity-Church.”¹

The clergy of the province deputed Mr. Barclay to present an address to the Lieutenant-Governor, expressing their sorrow at the death of Sir Danvers, which he did in the following terms:

“*To the Honourable JAMES DE LANCEY, Esq. ; Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief, in and over his Majesty's Province of New-York, and the Territories depending thereon in America.*

“The humble ADDRESS of sundry of the Clergy, in behalf of themselves, and the rest of their Brethren within this Province, of the establish'd National Church.

“*May it please your Honour,*

“As we are now to pay our Duty to your Honour, we humbly beg Leave to introduce our Address with a very hearty Condolence on the sudden and surprising Decease of his late Excellency Sir DANVERS OSBORN, Baronet; on Account of which, All Eyes have been filled with Tears, and every Face with Sadness, and we doubt not but it hath given your Honour a deep and sensible Grief; in which also the Clergy feel a very tender Sympathy, as their Hopes were raised of seeing the Interest of true Religion much promoted among us, from the Example and Influence of a Governor of such an amiable Character. All the Alleviation of our Concern, on this unhappy Occasion, is, from beholding that worthy person succeeded in the Administration, by a Gentleman of your Honour's establish'd Character, whose Skill and Abilities for directing the public Affairs, as well as Integrity and Benevolence, and Attachment to our excellent Constitution, both in Church and State, are well known to us all.

“We therefore most sincerely congratulate your Honour upon your Accession to the chief Seat of Government, in which the all-wise Dis-

¹ *The Weekly Post Boy*, October 15, 1753.

posal demands our particular Notice, and makes us humbly hope your Honour's good Dispositions will prompt you on all Occasions, to promote the Interest of true Religion and Vertue : And we on our Parts shall ever make it our faithful Endeavour to render your Honour's Administration easy to yourself, and happy to the People over whom you are plac'd, by inculcating on the Minds of our Congregations, the Duties of Loyalty and Submission to our most gracious Sovereign (whom God long preserve) and Obedience to your Honour as his Representative. And it shall always be our earnest Prayer to almighty God, that he will give you a long Series of Health, and all Manner of Happiness in this Life, and a glorious reward of all your faithful Services in the Life to come.

*"We are (may it please your Honour)
Your Honour's most dutiful
and obedient Servants.*

HENRY BARCLAY,
in Behalf of the Rest."

"To which his Honour was pleas'd to return the following answer,

"GENTLEMEN,

I from my Heart sympathize with you in the deep and sensible Grief which we all feel, on the sudden and surprizing Decease of his late Excellency SIR DANVERS OSBORN, Baronet.

I thank you for this your affectionate Address. You shall always find me dispos'd to promote the Interest of true Religion and Virtue.

As to yourselves in particular, your inculcating on the Minds of your several Congregations the Duties of Loyalty and Submission, cannot fail to render your Services acceptable to our most gracious Sovereign, as it will be very agreeable to me.

*The Duty of my Station requires me to show you all the Countenance, and give you all the Protection in my Power, and I will cheerfully comply with it on all Occasions."*¹

The reins which fell from that dead hand, which had held them only five weeks, were taken up by the Lieutenant Governor, James De Lancey. Placed between two hot fires, he bore himself like a brave and wise man. The family were loyal ; the very name bespoke fidelity to the

¹ *The New-York Mercury*, Monday, October 22, 1753.

Crown. And yet the new governor had the confidence of the popular party and was regarded by them as an ally, if not a leader. On the religious question, there was no mistake as to his position ; he was devoted to the English Church. Political questions distracted society at that time ; but religious controversy raged with equal intensity. De Lancey was the natural head of the Episcopal party, and might be counted on as certain, whenever the occasion arose, to throw the weight of his influence on that side.

The Lieutenant Governor, whom Clinton had kept in the background, now proceeded to the head of the government, and, with admirable skill, and in the enjoyment of general confidence, succeeded in maintaining the royal prerogative, and in getting the Assembly to pass such bills as were necessary. He continued to act until the arrival of Sir Charles Hardy, about two years later ; and then, though no man was better entitled to promotion, he yielded to a home favorite and withdrew.

Among the most important measures of his administration was the founding of the college to which reference has already in more than one place been made. It will be remembered that proposals looking to the establishment of such an institution were made during the administration of Lord Cornbury ; the honor of signing the charter was reserved for Governor De Lancey.

There was a prolonged battle over the founding of the college. It appears that a considerable amount of money had been raised, by a series of lotteries, for the establishment of an institution adequate to the needs of the city and neighborhood, and worthy of the promoters of the design. But the question arose as to the religious character of the proposed college. The idea that it should have no religious tone, nor any alliance with Christianity, met with no favor among serious persons. Churchmen

and Presbyterians vied with each other in their wish to have the control ; and the result was that the Church secured the desired place ; seven of the ten trustees provided for in the charter were Churchmen, and a handsome endowment was made by the Corporation of Trinity, on condition that no person should be eligible to the office of president who was not a communicant of the Church of England. The Episcopal party in New York were at that time headed by the Lieutenant Governor, the Presbyterian party by William Livingston. The disgust and indignation of the Presbyterians were such as to demand unusual agencies for their adequate expression, and accordingly a newspaper was established, under the name of the *Independent Reflector*, which, for some time filled the air with the din of ecclesiastical conflict. King's College was however, duly incorporated, and the Rev. Samuel Johnson was called from Stratford, Connecticut, to be its official head.¹

On the appointment of Dr. Johnson as head of the college, he was unanimously elected an assistant minister of Trinity Church, and the sum of £150 per annum was fixed as his salary. This action is on record Dec. 20, 1753. January 16, 1754, Dr. Johnson replied, though withholding his decision. He felt the results of advancing years ; appreciated the importance of a proper provision for the supply of his parish at Stratford if he should leave it ; and was still undecided with respect to his call to the college.

Referring to the Vestry minutes we find some interesting entries on this subject. When it became known that

¹ The date of the Charter is Oct. 31, 1754. Mr. John B. Pine, Clerk of the Trustees of Columbia College, has collected in one volume all the Charters, Acts, and official Documents of the College, together with the lease and re-lease by Trinity Church of a portion of the King's Farm. This very full and valuable compilation was printed for the College, June, 1895, and contains all the information on the subject that the student can desire.

Dr. Johnson had consented to take the presidency the Corporation proceeded to make good their promise to provide liberally for the new institution. At a meeting held May 14, 1754, it was

“unanimously agreed that this Board will give for the use of the Colledge Intended to be erected a certain parcell of Land belonging to this Corporation, to Erect and Build the said Colledge upon and for the use of the same. That is to say, a street of ninety feet from the Broadway to Church Street and from Church Street all the lands between Barclays’ Street and Murrays Street to the water side, upon this condition that the President of the said Colledge forever for the time being be a member of and in Communion with the Church of England, and that the Morning and Evening service in said Colledge be the liturgy of the said Church or such a Collection of Prayers out of said Liturgy as shall be agreed upon by the President and Trustees or governors of the said Colledge.”¹

Anticipating our narrative, we insert at this point an interesting and important letter addressed to the Venerable Society, Nov. 3, 1755, which gives a semi-official view of the situation and of circumstances preceding that date. After referring to the violent reproaches to which the parish had been subjected for its part in the establishment of the college, at a time when they had contracted a heavy debt by building St. George’s Chapel, the Board goes on to say :

“We always expected that a gift so valuable in itself, and so absolutely necessary, (it being the only ground within the City properly situated, and of sufficient extent), would be a means of obtaining some privileges to the Church, especially as the first promoter, of the affair, in the House of Representatives, always proposed such a preference, at least, as is granted by the charter ; but we never insisted on any condition, till we found some persons labouring to exclude all systems of religion out of the Constitution of the Colledge. When we discovered this design, we thought ourselves indispensably obliged to interpose, and we have had the countenance of many good men of all denomina-

¹ Records, i., 273.

tions, and in particular the ministers of the Foreign Protestant churches in this city, who are appointed governors of the Colledge, and who without the least hesitation qualified agreeable to the Church, and continue hearty friends to it. But notwithstanding this, the opposition still continues, and has so far prevailed as to have hitherto prevented the application of the money raised by Lottery to the use of the Colledge. To effect this, our opponents have been indefatigable, the most base and disingenuous methods have been used to prejudice the Common People in the several counties, whom they endeavoured to persuade, that the Test impos'd on the president will infallibly be attended with the establishment of Bishops and Tythes, and will end in the loss of all their Religious priviledges, and even in persecution itself. Petitions have been drawn and handed about to be signed against the Charter Establishment ; and weekly papers have been published for two years past wherein all the Friends of the Church and the Vestry of Trinity Church in particular, have been abused in the most opprobrious terms : so that it is very uncertain when the money will, by the Generall Assembly, be vested in the Governors. In the meantime, they have begun a subscription amongst themselves, and are daily purchasing materials to lay the foundation of a handsome, convenient Edifice, which, God willing, they purpose to begin next Spring ; and they are induced to hope, that as the dissenting seminary in New Jersey has had the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland engaged in its behalf last year, as well as the dissenting interest in England, and as we are informed, have collected a very considerable sum of money, so our Brethern in England will be ready to contribute, to preserve the Church in this part of the world from the contempt its enemies are endeavoring to bring upon it. The Dissenters have already three Seminarys in the Northern Governments. They hold their Synods, presbyteries and associations, and exercise the whole of their Ecclesiastical Government to the no small advantage of their cause, whilst those churches which are branches of the National Establishment are depriv'd not only of the benefitt of a regular Church Government, but their children debarred of the priviledges of a liberal education, unless they will submit to accept it on such conditions as Dissenters require, which in Yale Colledge is to submit to a fine as often as they attend Public Worship in the Church of England, communicants only excepted, and that only on Christmass and Sacrament Days. This we cannot but look upon as hard measure, especially as we can, with good conscience declare, that we are so far from that bigotry and narrowness of spirit they have of late been pleased to charge us with, that we would not, were it in our power, lay

the least restraint upon any man's conscience, and should heartily rejoice to continue in brotherly love and charity with all our Protestant Brethren, as we can appeal to all men we have always done, notwithstanding the late unmerited reproaches, callumnies and opposition we have met with."¹

The Board say in conclusion that the college authorities intend to go on in accordance with the charter, deeming this "the best means to quell the present opposition" and they invoke the aid of Churchmen at home in carrying on the needed work of education.²

The spirit of the Church is well illustrated by that rule of the College which stipulated that the students should attend such places of Worship on the Lord's day, "as their Parents or Guardians shall think fit to order and permit," and also by a provision of the charter which recognized the establishment of a professorship of Divinity in accordance with the Synod of Dort.³

The appointment of Dr. Johnson added bitterness to the draught which the Dissenters had to swallow. Samuel Johnson was one of that celebrated band whose defection from the Congregational order in which they had been trained startled New England as with a shock of an earthquake. Born at Guilford, Connecticut, Oct. 14, 1696, of an old Puritan stock, "an Hebrew of the Hebrews," and trained in the faith that Congregationalism was the very and true gospel, and that Episcopacy had neither scripture, nor history, nor logic, nor aught else in its favor, he was sent to the College of Connecticut at

¹ Berrian's *Historical Sketch*, 102.

² Records, i., 277. See on this whole subject *The Life of Samuel Johnson, D.D.*, by Dr. Chandler, 87-93; N. F. Moore's *Historical Sketch of Columbia College*; 1-37; also Berrian's *Historical Sketch*, 100-114; Beardsley's *Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson, D.D.*; 189 *et seq.*; and the same author's *Life and Time of William Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, 10-12.

³ On the struggle with intolerance at Yale, see Beardsley's *Samuel Johnson*, 192-210.

Saybrook, and thence, on the removal of the college, to New Haven, where, in 1716, he was acting as tutor under Dr. Cutler, the rector or president. Four years afterwards Mr. Johnson was set apart as a Congregational minister and settled at West Haven. But this man, thus educated according to the strictest forms and most rigid orthodoxy of the independent Calvinistic sect, at that time the only one known or tolerated in the colony, had meanwhile been reading quietly on his own account. He had studied the *Novum Organum*; inspired by the discoveries of Newton he had gone profoundly into mathematics; he had become a proficient in the classics and Hebrew; and, worst of all, he had become thoroughly acquainted with Barrow, South, Sherlock, Hooker, Bull, and other masters of the divine science of theology. Nor had he been alone in such studies; President Cutler and others were pursuing the like course of investigation. And so it came to pass one day, that the president of Yale College, the honored and beloved young divine of West Haven, and others, spoke out together, declaring that, in their deliberate judgment, Congregationalism, the idol of Puritan New England, could not stand the test of logic, history, or Scripture, that they renounced it forever, that they acknowledged the claim of the ancient catholic and apostolic Church from which dissent had cut itself off, and they must go across the sea to ask for that ordination which none but the successors of the Apostles can bestow on man. This was the event which, in the year 1722, disturbed and alarmed the whole province, and overwhelmed the partisans of Presbyterianism with astonishment and sorrow; and justly, for it marked the end of that brief term during which Puritanism had been accepted as little short of infallible and immaculate, and the return of the human mind and heart to the legitimate sources of au-

thority and the authentic and historical institutions of Christianity.¹ Johnson returned from England, a priest; he dwelt, as has been seen, in Stratford, as a missionary of the Venerable Society, and maintained the cause of the Church with great ability and success. He was still there when, in 1743, he received, through the influence of Archbishop Secker, the degree of Doctor of Divinity in the University of Oxford. It must have been an additional trial to those who had hoped to control and govern the new institution in the interests of the dissenting section of the population of the Province of New York, to see at its head a man conspicuous for such a history, and withal adorned with such graces and virtues that no fault could be found in him except it was found against him concerning the law of his God.

Dr. Johnson left Stratford April 15, 1754, having served the parish thirty-two years, and came to New York as president of the college. He says :

"I was in doubt whether to *accept* the Presidency, but as I saw that it would come to nothing if I did not, I at length returned and accepted the charge."

He adds, "Mr. Beach has concluded to succeed me at Stratford; so I am settled here in New York, being also Lecturer in Trinity Church." In the following year, May 30, 1755, an addition was made to the College Charter, granting to the Governor the power to establish therein a professorship of Divinity of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, for the instruction of such youth in the province as intended to devote themselves to the ministry according to the doctrine, discipline, and worship established in the United Provinces by the National Synod of Dort.

Dr. Johnson's duties as assistant minister and lecturer at Trinity Church were merely honorary. In the

¹ See Anderson's *Church of England in the Colonies*, vol. iii., 508-533.

month of December, 1753, his connection with the parish began ; he was to read prayers on Sunday at the church, and to preach once a month either at the church or at the chapel, as the rector might require. For ten years he held office amongst us ; at the end of that time, as is well known, he resigned the presidency of the college, owing to age, infirmities, and severe domestic affliction, and returned to Stratford, where he passed his last days in peace.

The college being, in a certain sense, the creation of Trinity Parish, we should note its progress, and the principles upon which it was founded. Dr. Johnson published in the *New-York Weekly Post Boy* of June 3, 1754, a long article entitled an "Advertisement" for the information of "such Parents as have now (or expect to have) Children prepared to be educated in the College of New York." This document, on account of its great interest, is given in the Appendix.

It may be noted here, that when Governor Hardy came out in 1755, the faction opposed to the college looked to him for countenance in their opposition, and prepared an address to prejudice him against the institution. To his credit be it said, that he received the address coldly, accepted another from the Governors of the College "with the utmost complaisance," and, asking to see the subscription paper, put down his own name for £500.

"'it was taken to him the next day, when the governor immediately took his pen and subscribed £500. All this,' says Johnson in his autobiography, 'was such a mortification to the faction, that from this time forward they shut their mouths, and the College met with no more opposition. And, in a little time it was agreed, for peace sake with the Assembly, to divide the money equally between the College and the public.'"¹

¹ Quoted in Beardsley's *Life of Samuel Johnson*, 210.

As everything connected with the Church at this period is of interest we may call attention to the fact that at this time the Society of Free and Accepted Masons donated fifteen pounds towards clothing for the charity scholars. Their public service in Trinity Church on the festival of St. John the Evangelist is noticed in the *Mercury* of December 31, in the following manner :

“ On Thursday last, at a Grand Lodge of the Antient and Worshipful Fraternity of FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS, a Commission from the Honourable JOHN PROBY, Baron of Carysfort, in the Kingdom of Ireland, GRAND MASTER of England, appointing GEORGE HARRISON, Esq., to be Provincial Grand Master, was solemnly published, we hear, to the universal Satisfaction of all the Brethren present. After which, it being the Festival of St. John the Evangelist, the Brethren went in Procession, to attend Divine Service at Trinity Church. The Order in which they proceeded, was as follows. First walked the SWORD BEARER, carrying a drawn Sword ; then four STEWARDS, with white Maces ; followed by the TREASURER and SECRETARY, who bore each a crimson Damask Cushion, on which lay a gilt Bible, and the Book of Constitutions ; after these the GRAND WARDEN, and WARDENS : Then came the GRAND MASTER himself, bearing a Trunchion and other Badges of his Office, followed by the Rest of the Brother-hood, according to their respective Ranks, MASTERS, FELLOW-CRAFTS, and 'PRENTICES, to about the Number of Fifty ; all cloathed with their Fewels, Aprons, white Gloves, and Stockings. The whole ceremony was concluded with the utmost Decorum, under a Discharge of Guns from some Vessels in the Harbour ; and made a genteel Appearance. We hear, they afterwards confer'd a generous Donation of Fifteen Pounds from the publick Stock of the Society, to be expended in Cloathing the poor Children, belonging to our Charity-School ; and made a handsome private Contribution for the Relief of indigent Prisoners.

“ In the Evening, by the particular Request of the Brethren, a Comedy called The Conscious Lovers, was presented at the Theatre in Nassau Street, to a very crouded Audience. Several Pieces of vocal Musick, in Praise of the Fraternity, were performed between the Acts. An Epilogue, suitable to the Occasion, was pronounced by Mrs. Hallam, with all the Graces of Gesture, and Propriety of Elocution ; and met with a universal and loud Applause.

“ Quere. Whether the Performance of publick and private Acts of

Beneficence, such as feeding the Hungry, and clothing the Naked, be most correspondent to the Genius of Christianity ; or, to the Institutions of the Prince of Darkness ?" *New-York Gazette*, December 31, 1753.

The city was frequently favored by visiting clergy, notwithstanding the difficulty and inconvenience attending all travel. New York was already the metropolis of America, and it was considered worth one's while to make an occasional pilgrimage to this place. Mr. Peters of Philadelphia, among others, found his way hither, and the *Post Boy* of July 22, says :

"Yesterday the Congregations of Trinity Church and St. George's Chapel in this City, were each favoured with a Sermon from the Rev. Mr. RICHARD PETERS, of Philadelphia ; that in the Morning from the first Epistle of Timothy first Chapter and 19th Verse ; Holding Faith and a good Conscience ; And that in the Afternoon, from the second Chapter of St. Luke, and 52d Verse ; And Jesus increased in Wisdom and Stature, and in Favour with God and Man. His Audiences were great and the Sermons universally approved of."

July 30, 1753. The Board ordered that the Church Wardens "Pay the Rev. Doct. Johnson his salary—in the same manner they pay the same to the Rev. Mr. Barclay & Mr. Auchmuty."¹

The annual charity sermons in October were duly announced in the papers and noticed when delivered. The preachers were the rector and his assistant.²

¹ Records, i., 274.

² "We hear, that two Charity Sermons are to be preached in order to raise a Sum of Money, sufficient to cloath the poor Children belonging to the Charity School, in this City. The first by the Rev'd. Mr. Barclay, at Trinity Church, on the next Sunday in the Forenoon : The other by the Rev'd. Mr. Auchmuty, at St. George's Chapel, on the Sunday following, in the Morning.

N. B. *As the Charity School in this City, receives poor Children of every Persuasion amongst us ; so it is to be hoped, that every Catholic, benevolent, and well disposed Christian will generously contribute to the Relief and Comfort of a Set of poor helpless Children, (many of them Orphans) who without the Kind Charity proposed, must inevitably be greatly exposed to Cold and Nakedness this ensuing Winter."* *Weekly Post Boy*, October 21, 1754.

"Yesterday Morning an excellent Sermon was preach'd at Trinity Church, by the

In 1754, notwithstanding the peace made at Aix-la-Chapelle, the French were making inroads upon the northern frontier ; and a Congress of Deputies from several provinces was held at Albany June 14th, to devise means of defence. About one hundred and fifty of the Iroquois were in attendance, and it was resolved to do them justice respecting their lands, and to build ships and fortify on the lakes. It was further agreed to make application to Parliament to unite eleven provinces under one government, each retaining its own constitution, while a President-General and Council appointed by the Crown were to form the central government. This plan, drawn up by Franklin, was signed July 4. De Lancey presided at this Congress and signalized himself by becoming the sole opponent of Franklin's scheme. A campaign against the French was resolved upon, and in 1755 General William Johnson gained his victory over Dieskau in the battle of Lake George,¹ which was the beginning of that series of movements which led to the fall of Quebec, expelled the French from New York, and broke their power in America, enabling DeLancey September 21, 1759, to issue a proclamation to the scattered settlers in that dis-

Rev'd. Mr. BARCLAY, from Prov. xix. 17, for the Benefit of the poor Scholars belonging to the Charity-School in this City. The Scholars to the Number of 56, were present, and after Sermon sung an Hymn suitable to the Occasion.—We hear that next Sunday Morning there is to be another Charity Sermon preach'd at St. George's Chappel, by the Rev'd. Mr. AUCHMUTY, for the same Purpose. As the poor Children belonging to the Charity-School, are now almost destitute of Covering, 'tis hoped that every charitable well-disposed Christian, will gladly contribute to their Relief, as they cannot employ their Charity in a Way more acceptable to their blessed Saviour, than by cloathing his poor naked Members."—*The New-York Mercury*, October 28, 1754.

"Yesterday Morning an excellent Charity Sermon was preach'd at St. George's Chapel, by the Rev'd. Mr. AUCHMUTY, to a very crowded Auditory, when a very handsome Collection was made for the Poor Scholars of Trinity-Church School—The New-York Mercury, November 4, 1754.

¹ For the campaign on the lake see De Costa's *Lake George ; Its Scenes and Characteristics*, Chap. VI. and VII., and *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. v., 483 et seq.

tant region to return to their homes. During this period New York was the scene of great activity and the place where conflicting politics were debated. Amherst, during the winter of 1758-9 had his headquarters in New York, and the city was bustling with preparations for the final campaign. When the French no longer found themselves able to hold their position in North America, peace returned in a sense ; it was evident, however, that the provinces must ere long take a decided stand with respect to the mother country.

May 8, 1755 :

"The Reverend Mr. Barclay having acquainted this Board that His Honour the Lieut. Governor yesterday Delivered the Charter to the Governors thereby appointed for the Colledge and that they were then qualified, This Board unanimously Ordered That a Draft of a Grant of the Lands for the use of the said Colledge Pursuant to their former Resolution be prepared and laid before this Board at their next meeting"¹

May 12th, the business was completed and the deed delivered.

We have three sermons by Mr. Auchmuty for the year 1755. The first is a Warning to the Wicked (Job. xxxiv : 22) ; the second is on the Holy Trinity (St. John v : 7), and the third, from the text, "How are the Mighty Fallen," was preached, as the memorandum on the margin states, "soon after the defeat and death of Gen. Braddock and his forces." Braddock's disastrous campaign against the French and Indians in northern New York led to a great deal of preaching, as well as military discussion, throughout the Colonies. In New York, which was substantially the basis of the campaign, the defeat was very keenly felt. We quote from this sermon, to show what kind of preaching was favored in the parish

¹ Records, i., 275.

under such circumstances. His first point is, that "Brave men falling in ye service of their King, their country & ours, are undoubtedly intitled to our affectionate concern & sorrow," while, in the second place, he considers the lesson of penitence and humiliation taught by the sad event. Afterwards he takes up a strain of lamentation, passing eventually to the practical issues before the Colonies.

"Perhaps when ye whole legislative Body come together it may be tho't advisable to augment our Forces & send speedy reinforcements to those who are now in arms, in order to recover ye Right of our gracious Sovn unlawfully usurped by a bold Invader. If so, it is to be hoped my B. yt' every one among you yt can be spared (especially you yt have no families) will be ready to draw ye swords in defence of ye Country & ye Religion & all yt is near & dear to a Xtian. Death itself is far more eligible than Slavery & Popery, ye Effects of which two dreadful evils will ere long be felt shd bad managent, Temerity, or a want of public spirit prevail amongst us. Upon ye success of ye two expeditions yt are now on foot in a great measure depends our safety or Danger, for ye time to come. To render ym successful "

he continues,

"ought to be the main care & endrs of those (I speak with all due modesty & Diffedence to their supr judgments) to w^m ye public welfare is entrusted. Their Diligence & Readiness to do everything yt has yet been tho't off, for ye public good must fill us wh ye most sanguinee xpectations, yt their future councils will be productive of ye same salutary end. Should they then my B. order ye Sword to be drawn, let their orders be obeyed wh ye utmost Resolution & Readiness. Nay, let every one of us, if necessary, be ready to rush out to Battle & bravely die, or free our country from lawless Invaders."

CHAPTER XVIII.

DR. BARCLAY'S RECTORSHIP, CONTINUED.

Hardy Succeeds Osborne—Operations on Lake George—Bogardus Heirs—Surrender of Louisburg—Wolfe Captures Quebec—View of the State of the Clergy—Clock Imported from Europe—Death of Mrs. Horsmanden—Death of Lieutenant Governor De Lancey—His Obsequies—Defeat of the Brower Claimants to the Church Property—Monckton, Governor—Lieutenant Governor Colden—Spire of Trinity Struck by Lightning—Mr. Tuckey's Musical Work and Services—Proceedings Commenced for the Erection of a Second Chapel of Ease—Purchase of Land for Site—Death of Dr. Barclay.

ON the lamentable death of Sir Danvers Osborne, Charles Hardy was appointed to succeed him. Arriving in New York, Sept. 2d he soon afterwards proceeded to Albany, to be near the seat of the war then raging with France.¹

The year 1756 opened quietly ; on the 6th of January, General Johnson, who had carried off all the honors of the battle of Lake George, came to town and was the lion of the hour. On the 9th of February following a grand exhibition known as the "Microcosm"² had found its way to the city and was exciting the wonder of those who delighted in viewing the world in miniature ; a treat for the somewhat stationary population at a time when a journey from City Hall to the upper part of the island was viewed as a somewhat formidable affair, especially at a time when the French were supposed to be on the point of attacking the City from the sea. Notwithstanding the disturbed condition of the country St. Patrick's Day was duly cele-

¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi., 935, 960 ; Dunlap's *New York*, i., 380.

² *The Weekly Post Boy*, February 16, 1756.

brated, greatly to the satisfaction of the Hibernian party, then already quite strongly entrenched in New York.¹

During this summer sixteen thousand troops were assembled at Lake George, to operate against the French ; but owing to the weakness and inefficiency of Lord Loudon, the general commanding in North America, nothing was done, and the troops went back to Albany into winter quarters. At one time Loudon had fifty thousand men under his command, fifteen thousand of them from Massachusetts, whose people, as they viewed the encroachments of Roman Catholic France, said through Pomeroy,

“Come to the help of the Lord against the mighty ; you that value your holy religion and your liberties, will spare nothing, even to one-half of your estate.”²

The previous year Massachusetts had every fifth able-bodied man in the field, while, as Smith points out, New York was shamefully backward, her frontiers being defended by New England troops, who, under Johnson, were mainly instrumental in winning the battle of Lake George.

During the memorable year 1756 the condition of public affairs caused great uneasiness throughout the province.

Governor Hardy wrote on October 27, that

“Fort George has gone through great repairs and is now compleated—Two side & three Bastions Command the Rivers leading to the City, and should properly have heavy Cannon mounted, for the defence of the Harbour. Your Lordships will please to observe, that they are all but one 12 & 9 pounders, pour ordinance for such a defence. In the spring other works are to be constructed on the east River for the de-

¹ When the Revolution was accomplished a considerable body of loyalists, representing English, Scotch, and Irish, went to Nova Scotia, where they founded a Parish, which they divided into three wards, named respectively after St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick. It is a mistake to suppose that all the Irish were in favor of the Revolution, while those who did favor it were nearly all Protestant Irish.

² De Costa's *Narrative of Events at Lake George*, 19.

fence of the Harbour, that will require twenty or twenty four, twenty four Pounders.

"It will be highly proper, to put this Province into a state of Defence from any attack by Sea, that some heavy Cannon should be mounted in the Narrows and upon Nutten Island, a Ground if the Enemy should attempt this Country with a Fleet they will make themselves Masters and from whence they can easily bombard this city. Twenty four Pieces of Cannon may be sufficient for these two Posts."¹

No French fleet appeared, however, and the city remained unmolested.

In the minutes of July 15, reference is made to fresh attacks by the Bogardus heirs.

"The Vestry having considered of the claim made to part of the Churches lands by the Representatives of Mrs. Catharine Livingstone are of opinion that the said claim is without any legall foundation, and thereupon Resolved that a Defence be made by this Corporation to any Action or suit that shall be commenced or brought by the Said Representatives."²

On the 23d of August, Sir Charles Hardy laid the corner stone of the college, Lieutenant Governor DeLancey making a brief Latin speech.

Another claimant to the property of the Church arose about this time; April 5, 1757, a committee was appointed to

"treat with Derick Die [Dey] about his claim to eight acres of land near a place in the Church Farm commonly called Old John's Land, and to settle the division Line between the said Derick Dies land and the Church's Farm."³

It appears that at a meeting held March 28th in the following year this Committee reported that they had purchased the land in question, "containing about nine acres, supposed to be a part of the Churches Farm, but claimed by the said Dirck Dey," and that they had paid him £50 for the same.

¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vii., 164.

² *Records*, i., 280.

³ *Ibid.*, i., 284.

June 2, 1757, Sir Charles Hardy, having delivered to Lieutenant Governor De Lancey his commission and instructions, embarked on board the *Nightingale*, falling down to Sandy Hook.¹ This was the third time that Mr. De Lancey had been left at the head of the province.

On the 7th of August it was resolved to carry on the suit against Cornelius Brower, who claimed a part of the Farin. Two days after that meeting occurred the dreadful affair at Lake George, so graphically described by Cooper in *The Last of the Mohicans*. The surrender of the English garrison, followed by the horrible massacre by the savages who formed a part of Montcalm's forces, excited general horror. The following winter was gloomy in the extreme.

Next year the war went on with better results. On Sunday, August 27, Mr. Auchmuty preached a sermon on "the agreeable news of the surrender of Louisbourg," taking the text, "Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us," etc. Psalm cxv, 1. At the close of the discourse he says,

"The strongest fortress in America has fallen into our hands, wh an almost incredible number of our vaunting enemies thro' ye Countenance of Heaven, & ye Divine blessing accompanying ye brave & unwearied end'ors of our gallant & worthy Commanders & their Troops. Gallic pride is at last humbled and British honour is in a great measure retrieved. Should I err, I think not, was to say yt Dine providence has once more been conspicuous in ye reduction of Louisbourg. How abortive have all their deep laid schemes for its preservation proved their mighty fleets wch last year prevented its reduction have by unforeseen & unlooked for accidents been partly stoped & partly destroyed; perhaps greater efforts were never made to save a place; & more favorable circumstances never appeared, in order to subdue one. Our forces both from Europe & here joined much at ye same time. Gentle & soft breezes wafted our Troops without any loss over ye mighty Ocean without meeting one storm, tho' on ye sea in a boisterous season to the place of rendezvous. Tho' pent up in ye narrow compass

¹ March 20, 1759, Dr. Johnson wrote, "We have rarely seen a Governor at Church in this Province except Sr. Charles since the year 1743." *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, vii., 374.

of Vessels, though some weeks upon a disagreeable element yet hath pleased God yt Health & cheerfulness, unanimity & a true patriotic desire to right their Country's wrongs reigned among ym and possessed their valiant breasts."

Further on the preacher says of the French,

"The numerous garrison at first consisting of full 5000 men strengthened by ye addition of no less than 3000 sailors, as we are told, surrounded with strong walls, with cannons & men of war in their harbor to assist, one wd naturally wd have done great things tow'd frustrating ye designs of about 1500 men only; whereas they have really done very little, the loss on our side from ye beginning of ye seige to ye place's surrender only 300 men, whereas a circumstance this almost incredible & indeed miraculous ye enemies loss was 1500. Little Philosophers may pretend to acct for these things by natural consequences, but to men of understanding & deep reflection ye interposition of heaven will plainly appear."

The summer while it brought a victory from Louisburg, was darkened by disasters at Lake George, and General Abercrombie was defeated before Ticonderoga with heavy loss; many soldiers of the province fell, among them the young and gallant Lord Howe.

The year 1759 was, upon the whole, an uneventful year for the parish, if we may judge by the entries in the Record: yet it did not pass without the loss of an old and tried friend of the Church, Mr. Joseph Robinson, Warden.¹

¹ We glean the following from the *Gazette*,

"On Friday the 16th Instant, departed this Life, in the 76th Year of his age, Collonel, Joseph Robinson, of this City, Merchant, a Gentleman of unblemished Reputation, whose Memory will always be honoured by all that have had the Pleasure of being acquainted with him; and particularly by the Members of Trinity Church, to whom he was a most faithful and industrious Steward, in receiving and disbursing the Revenues of that Church, and in prudently distributing the Alms of the Congregation. He was chosen Churchwarden in Easter week, in the Year 1724, and was annually elected to the same Office till 1756, when he insisted on being excused upon Account of his Age and Infirmities. The relations of a Father, a Husband, a Friend, and a Master, he discharged in a most tender, affectionate, faithful and indulgent Manner. His Remains were decently deposited in his own Vault, in Trinity Church Yard, on Monday Evening last."—*The New-York Gazette*, March 26, 1759.

The military movements of the day kept the city in a state of excitement. During the beginning of the year New York had been filled with troops, but as the spring approached they took their way northward, and, in July, Amherst advanced upon Ticonderoga, though only to find the works deserted by the French, who had fled to Canada. On August 5th, the Sunday following this most important event, the occasion had general notice in the city. Dr. Auchmuty, among others, delivered a special sermon, and in St. George's Chapel discoursed from St. Luke xvii : 17, "Where are the nine?" This was the culmination of the campaign in New York which began disastrously with the defeat of Abercrombie. Under his fourth head, the preacher dealt with the baseness and the danger which attended the suppression of gratitude, and the preacher thanks God that He has so disposed the campaign as to allow large room for the expression of thanksgiving.

"Can we be thankful enough," he asks the people of St. George's Chapel, "to ye Supreme Disposer of all events yt he has been graciously pleased to suffer our worthy & victorious General [Amherst] to dispossess our inveterate enemy of their most important Fortress with the loss of only a few lives, especially when we look back, tho' we thereby revive our grief & consider yt our attempt on ye same place ye last year proved abortive & was attended with the loss of the brave & good Lord Howe and a great many more of distinguished merit."

There was rejoicing again when, in September, Wolfe captured Quebec, and substantially broke the power of France, in North America. The rector and his assistant preached thanksgiving sermons on the occasion.¹

¹ "On Friday last the Cannon on Fort George were fired on the Success of his Majesty's Arms at the Battle of Quebeck the 13th of September last, between General Wolfe and Mons. Montcalm, and in consequence thereof, of the surrender of that Capital. At the same Time his Majesty's, and all the loyal Healths, were drank. The Shipping in the Harbour continued firing most of the afternoon, colors displayed, and at night the city was illuminated very extraordinary; besides two large

At this period, 1759, Dr. Johnson, writing to Archbishop Secker, on July 25, gives a general estimate of the character and condition of the clergy in the middle and northern provinces. Of the South he professes to know but little ; he says :

"I have only heard that there are some worthy men, and two or three very bad ones : especially one Whitaker in Maryland, one of the worst of men. But they tell me the Constitution of that Government is such, that there is no such thing as dispossessing an incumbent, however so wicked or erroneous : if so, it is high time it were looked into, and if possible amended.—As to the Clergy of New-Jersies, New-York and New-England they are generally speaking virtuous and faithful persons : And I do not know of any of them now, suspected of any erroneous principles.—There is but one whose character is exceptionable, I mean Mr. Lyons of Brookhaven on Long Island, under whose conduct, a pretty little Church is dwindling, and I fear, coming to nothing."

He says :

"As to learning, My Lord, much cannot be expected in such a country as this, where they have so little leisure or means ; but Mr. Chandler will be considerable.—I wish some few had a little more zeal, tho' this is not wanting in the generality of them, and they have divinity enough to render them useful preachers."

Passing to the Dissenters, he says :

"Indeed not only the English in this City, but the Dutch, Germans, and French are all very happy in their Clergy. Mr. Wetmore and the two Seaburys in this province and Messrs. Winslow Dibble and Leaming in Connecticut are all very worthy men, poor Mr. Gibbs is disabled in his understanding ; Mr. Standard was never agreeable to his people, so that religion is almost come to nothing under his Administration ; but he is quite superannuated, and intends to resign in favor of Mr. Greateon, a worthy Youth, who will soon go for orders, and is

Bonfires erected on the Commons, the one by the City, the other ('tis said) by the Company of Hatters.

And Yesterday two excellent Thanksgiving Sermons were delivered on the happy Occasion, by the Reverends *Barclay* and *Auchmuty* ; the former's from the XIXth Chapter of Exodus, 3d. 4th. and 5th Verses ; and the latter's from the CLth Psalm, 6th Verse." *The New-York Gazette*, October 15, 1759.

greatly wanted, the more so, as Mr. Stoup at New Rochel, the next parish, is quite disabled with the palsy ; which is also the case of good Dr. Cutler at Boston, who has been a learned and very faithful Divine. Mr. Caner excels there as a preacher, and they have in general a very faithful clergy in all those parts.”¹

He adds however that of the missions there is hardly one able to support its clergyman.¹

The year 1760 was opened on New Year's Day at Trinity Church with an appropriate sermon by Dr. Auchmuty on Deuteronomy, xi., 12 : “A Land which the Lord thy God careth for,” etc. In speaking of the blessings which the people had enjoyed he says :

“Another blessing, almost peculiar to this Province, ye last year, was, yt tho' destructive war raged all around us, yet blessed be God, we continued to set every man under his own vine & under his own Fig tree, in ye secure & peaceable enjoyment of whatever he had a legal right too. At the beginning of ye war indeed the poor inhabitants on ye Frontiers were frequently surprised & cut off, by Inhuman Savages, headed by Inhuman Canadians. The blood of our brethren was barbarously spilt & our country invaded & taken from us by degrees. Besides this, our own City, from an hostile fleet & an enraged enemy ; and indeed such was ye gloomy prospect, yt ye most sanguine expectations could not reach ye great alteration for ye better wch we now happily experience. Thus have we dwelt in peace, whilst bloody war accompanied by an innumerable Train of Evils has destroyed where ere it came. Populous, fruitful countries are turned into barren wastes, thriving cities with their lofty & elegant buildings sink in heaps of ruin & rubbish ; and tho' thousands fall on our right hand & ten thousands upon our left, yet di'ne providence has hitherto guarded & protected us from the Horrors & Devastations of war.”

He congratulates the people upon the rapidity with which “ye sword of Justice, ye avenger of unprovoked wrongs has chastised our Enemies,” though he sorely laments the loss of Wolfe, who had fallen in the service of the country. In conclusion he warns the people against profaneness,

¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.* vii., 397.

intemperance, and debauchery, and exhorts them to begin the new year in the right way. As the great festivals come this year we find him making each the subject of discourse.

Entering upon the new year of 1760, it is said, under date of January 30th,

"It being represented that the Pantiles on the Roofe of St. George's Chappell are too weighty for the Roofe and Walls of the said Chappel,"

the Board voted "that the said tiles be removed and sold and the Roofe shingled."

At this session we hear of "a clock from Europe," which Mr. Robert Cromelin, architect, of St. George's Chapel, had imported at his own expense, and which he offered to the Corporation "at the price cost." The offer was accepted, and a committee was appointed to have "the said Clock placed up in the Chappell in such manner as they shall think most convenient." It was also voted that the chapel burial fees be the same as those at the church.¹

About the same time a movement was made to provide a public clock; the minutes of the Common Council in February state that

"Mr. Watts and others had sent to Europe for a large clock which they intended as a publick one, and desire to know that if the Common Council would take charge of it and erect it in the Exchange at their own expense it was at their service."

July 28th, a legacy of £200 from Mrs. Elizabeth Sharpas in favor of the charity school, was reported, also one of the same amount from Mrs. Frances Auboyneau. In view of the increasing means of the school a committee was appointed "to have a Cupulo erected and a Bell hung up on

¹ Records, i., 294.

the Charity School house." Not content with this, the vestry room was ordered to be "hung with paper and New painted and the chairs mended"; a committee was also appointed

"to meet the minister and Elders of the Lutheran Church and receive their proposals made to the Revd. Mr. Barclay relating to the exchange of some lands adjoining to the Charity School house."

In common with the churchwomen of this period Mrs. Vesey remained quite out of sight; her earlier history is invested, more or less, with the work of imagination. Death, however, brought her out of her long obscurity; July 28, 1760, the *Mercury* announced the end in the following paragraph.

"On Monday last departed this Life, after a long and painful Illness, Mrs. Mary Horsmanden, of this City, late Wife of the Honourable Daniel Horsmanden, Esq; and formerly the Wife of the Reverend Mr. Wm. Vesey, Rector of Trinity Church within this City, and on the Wednesday following was decently interr'd in the Family Vault—Many and valuable were her good Qualities, as well moral as religious; as a Christian, she entertain'd just and exalted Sentiments of the Truths and Grace of the Gospel, and acquiesced in the divine Administration and Government with a becoming Reverence and Submission. Hence she was religious, pious, benevolent and exemplary in her Life and Manners; patient and resigned to the last tho' much afflicted, breathing after immortality and entirely weaned from every mortal Attachment. As a friend she was Constant, sincere, open, candid and impartial; as a Wife affectionate, discreet, obliging and complaisant, and in her whole Deportment affable, agreeable amiable and courteous. At length, the Lamp of Life being quite exhausted, she obtained that Release from her bodily Infirmities, which she most ardently prayed for, and 'tis hoped now enjoys that Felicity, which is the End and Aim of every true Christian."¹

Two days later the death of Lieutenant Governor De Lancey was announced. Dunlap says:

¹ It has been stated that Judge Horsmanden, by his marriage with Mrs. Horsmanden, was relieved of great financial embarrassment, but of this no proof has been adduced.

"Lieutenant Governor DeLancey was found by one of his children, expiring as he sate in his study, on the morning of the 30th of July, 1760. He was a man of talents, with many virtues. Educated in England at the University of Cambridge, he was strongly linked to that country, which at this time commanded the general esteem and admiration of the people of America. Mr. DeLancey had dined the day before on Staten Island in company with Governour Morris, General Provoost, Mr. Walton, Mr. Boone, and Mr. Smith and others, the great men of the day; and it is no disparagement to him, if we credit Smith, that too much eating and drinking took place. It was the custom of the times. Of the other causes mentioned by the historian, which might have disturbed the lieutenant-governour's equanimity during the convivial party, none are worthy of notice. Mr. DeLancey crossed the bay in the evening, rode out to his house in the Bowery, and was discovered expiring, too late for medical or surgical aid, sitting in his chair, as he probably had done through the night, being unable to repose in a recumbent posture at times from a cronick asthma."¹

The *Mercury* gave a long notice of Mr. DeLancey's life and character, together with an elaborate account of the funeral. Speaking of his personal traits this paper says:

"To do ample Justice to his eminent Character in so contracted a Compass and on so sudden and alarming Occasion, is what the World will hardly expect, or his distinguished Accomplishments, indeed permit. He enjoyed a quick Conception, a deep Penetration, a clear Judgment, and a retentive Memory. These natural Talents heightened and improved by his Attainments in Literature, and an intimate Acquaintance with Mankind, made him an agreeable and instructive companion to those who were honoured with his Conversation; and qualified him to fill the most important Offices with uncommon Dignity and Lustre."²

The description of the funeral is of special interest, as showing how a state funeral was conducted at that period.

"At three Quarters past Six P.M. his Majesty's Ship the Winchester, of 50 Guns, John Hale, Esq; Commander, now in the North River, fired a Gun for the Funeral to move, which was done from his Honour's Seat in the Bowery Lane. At the same Instant Minute Guns be-

¹ Dunlap's *History*, i. 402.

² The *New-York Mercury*, August 4, 1760.

gan firing from Copsy Battery, and continued to 57, the Number of his Age. The Battery was followed by the Winchester, and she by the General Wall Packet, each firing the same Number with the Battery, The Order of the Procession from His Honour's Seat to Trinity Church. was as follows, *viz.*

1. The Clerks of Trinity-Church and St. George's Chappel in an open Chaise.
2. The Rector of Trinity-Church in a Chaise.
3. The Clergy of the several Protestant Denominations in this City, Two by Two, in Chaises.
4. An open Hearse bearing the Body in a Coffin covered with black Velvet, richly adorned with gilt Escutcheons and Furniture. The Hearse was drawn by a beautiful Pair of white Horses belonging to his Honour, in mourning, and were drove by his own Coachman.
5. His Majesty's Council in mourning Coaches, being Pall Bearers.
6. Relations in mourning Coaches.
7. Members of the Assembly in Coaches.
8. The Magistrates, Two by Two, in Coaches and Chaises.
9. All the Gentlemen of the Law in this City, Two by Two, in Coaches and Chaises.

The extent of the Procession was more than half a mile. They moved in a very regular Manner, and with a slow Pace until they came opposite the House of Mr. Edward Willet, in the Broadway, where the Hearse stopped. The Corpse were then taken off and put on Men's Shoulder's : The Members of His Majesty's Council then came out of their Coaches and supported the Pall. The Rest of the Gentlemen alighted from their carriages likewise, and followed Two by Two, according to their Affinity and Rank. In this order they proceeded into Trinity Church, which was beautifully illuminated. The Corpse was then taken from the Men's Shoulders and placed on a stand before the Desk, where the Revd. Mr. Barclay performed the funeral Service, at the Conclusion of which the Body was removed a few Yards to the middle Isle where it was interred. The whole was conducted with the greatest Decorum and Solemnity." ¹

DeLancey was the last of those four native-born men who governed New York. Pitt said that if he had lived

¹ The *New-York Mercury*, August 4, 1760.

in England he would have been one of the first men in the kingdom.¹

William Smith, attorney for the plaintiff, writes to the rector from his office in the Superior Court that

“ Mr. Justice Jones lodged at the ferry last night and that he desires to give notice that he will attend at Mr. Edward Willets at 10 of the clock this morning,”

for the purpose of “ striking the Jury ” in the case of Jackson and Brower versus the Corporation.

The *Mercury* of October 27, 1760, has the following important announcement, conveying a result that must have proved very gratifying to the parish.

“ Last Week a remarkable Tryal, which has been in the Law near 20 Years, came on in the Supreme Court here, between *The Rector and Inhabitants of the City of New-York of the Church of England, as by Law Established*, and the Family of the *Browers*, who sued for 62 Acres of the King's Farm ; when the Jury, after being out about 20 Minutes gave their Verdict in favour of the *Defendants*.”

Turning from these matters we find a congenial subject in connection with the efforts being made at this period for the amelioration of the condition of colored children. What was being done is gleaned from an advertisement in the *Mercury* of August 4, which we here quote entire :

“ WANTED immediately, a sober Woman, of a fair Character and Qualifications, necessary to keep a School, for the instruction of Thirty Negro Children, in reading, sewing, &c. Such a person by applying to any one of the Clergy of the Church of England, in this City, may be informed of the Terms, which are advantageous.

“ N. B. The intended School will be chiefly Supported by a Charitable Society of worthy and well disposed Christians in England : It

¹ The DeLancey's were of Huguenot origin. See various notices of the family in the *Collection of the Huguenot Society in America*, vol. i., and Memoir in *N. Y. Doc. Hist.*, iv., 1037.

is therefore hop'd that such Persons as have a Regard for the Souls of their poor Young Slaves, especially those born in their house, will be ready to assist in forwarding and promoting this laudable Undertaking."

Again, September 15th, we read,

"THIS is to inform the Public, that a Free School is opened near the New-Dutch-Church, for the instruction of 30 Negro Children, from 5 years old and upwards, in Reading, and in the Principles of Christianity, and likewise sewing and knitting; which School is entirely under the Inspection and Care of the Clergy of the Church of England in this City: Those Persons therefore that have the present Usefulness, and future Welfare of their young Slaves at Heart (especially those born in their Houses), are desired to apply to any one of the Clergy, who will immediately send them to the aforesaid School, and see that they be faithfully instructed.

"N. B. All that is required of their Masters or Mistresses, is that they find them in Wood for the Winter. Proper Books will be provided for them gratis."¹

General Amherst returned from the scene of his successful northern campaign to New York, where he was invested with the order of the Garter and became "Sir Jeffrey." At this time the troops, under Governor Monckton, were in camp upon Staten Island, and the officers united with the people in showing their respect for this able commander, while the air shook with the thunder of cannon, and the city blazed with illumination. France was dismissed from America, and no people were more glad than those who held the city on the border of that noble harbor first described by the leader of a French exploring expedition in 1525. New York City had prospered during the war, and the merchants gave rich banquets to the officers of the army and navy. Nearly forty ships had been brought to port as prizes, while nearly thirty prizes had been carried by New York ships into

¹ *The New-York Mercury*, September 15, 1760.

British West India ports. William Walton's house, in Franklin Square, was the scene of many of the receptions given in those days, when the loaded tables shone with the spoils of Mexico and South America.

January 2, 1761. It was voted to put the church and chapel in mourning for George II.

March 5. Resolved that five hundred pounds be allowed towards the purchase of a

"new Organ for Trinity Church, it being proposed by severall gentlemen to raise by subscription so much as in addition to the said five hundred pounds will amount to seven hundred guineas."¹

May 20, 1761. A committee was appointed to visit and regulate the Charity School. They were to meet on "the first Monday in every month at three o'clock in the afternoon in the Vestry Room for that purpose"; they also had "power to agree with and employ a School Mistress to teach the girls to Reade and sow upon such terms as they shall think fitt."

March 17, 1761, General Robert Monckton was nominated Governor, Cadwallader Colden, Lieutenant Governor, and Benjamin Pratt, Chief Justice, the nominations being confirmed by the King three days later.² Monckton had been commander at Fort Pitt, in Pennsylvania, and was well known. Repairing to New York, he received his commission by the man-of-war *Alcide*, October 20th. On the 26th he took the oath of office. November 13th he received leave of absence to go on a military expedition, and on the 15th, delivering the seals to Lieutenant Governor Colden, he sailed for Martinique and victory.

Colden, we are told, commenced his administration

¹ Records, i., 298

² *Ibid.*, i., 300. *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vii., 460, 463, 471, 476, 485. Pratt was a Boston lawyer, whose appointment, to last during the King's pleasure, gave great dissatisfaction.

“in a calm,” which, however, was soon disturbed by the news of the death of George II., and the accession of his grandson to the throne. Colden is described as “old, versed in civil affairs, learned, studious, cautious, and reserved”; while Monckton was “young, bold, a military man: a man of the world in its expenses, show, and licentiousness—of course the favorite of the gay, the unthinking, and the ambitious, and the votaries of what is called pleasure.” He stood in that line of governors, who seldom appeared in the public congregation, and contented themselves with a churchmanship made up of courteous and official terms. The parish, however, always respected the office, without regard to the temporary incumbent. Special efforts were made this year to increase the charity funds, and with considerable success.¹

¹ “By Permission of his Honour the
Lieutenant Governor.

For the BENEFIT of the
CHARITY SCHOOL

By a Company of COMEDIANS.

At the *New Theatre in Chapel-Street*, this Day, being
the 25th Instant, will be presented, A Comedy,
call'd The

COMMITTEE :

OR

The Faithful *IRISHMAN*.

The part of *TEAGUE* to be perform'd by

Mr. HALLAM,

And the Part of *RUTH* to be perform'd by

Mrs. DOUGLASS,

To which will be added a FARCE, call'd

A WONDER,

An HONEST *Yorkshireman* !

The Part of *GAYLOVE* to be perform'd by

Mr. QUELCH,

And the Part of *ARBELLA*, by Mrs. Morris.

TICKETS, without which no Persons can be admitted, to be had of H. GAINE, Printer, Book

General Monckton returned from his campaign July 8th, flushed with success; the Board presented an address to him, congratulating him on his "reduction of the valuable Island of Martinico, and its appendages, a conquest so important to our Sovereign and country and so distressing to the enemy."¹ Soon after returning to New York he resigned his office and went to England.² Colden was now again left alone in the government; he made no figure, compared with the dashing, open-handed soldier. Smith, the historian, wrote as follows to General Gates, afterwards so prominent in the American Army:

"Colden, for want of purse, and more for want of spirit to imitate Monckton in the dignity of his government, has retired to Flushing. The little star does not yet appear; the twilight of his predecessor is still too strong to permit such a twinkling luminary to glitter."³

In fact, the destined star did not rise to view until Sir Henry Moore appeared on the horizon. The Government was carried on by Colden until 1765. It would be difficult to convey an adequate idea of his administration, or of the condition of the province in a few words.⁴

seller, and Stationer, at his Printing-Office, at the Bible & Crown in Hanover-Square.

††† The Ladies and Gentlemen who chuse to have Boxes reserved for them, are desired to send to Mr. Douglass."

—*The New-York Mercury*, April 26, 1762.

"On Monday last the Committee was Acted at the Theatre, in this City, for the Benefit of the Charity School, by which a handsome Sum was rais'd, and delivered by Mr. Douglass to the Church Wardens for that Purpose.

This is the Second Play the Company have given this Season to public Uses; which, with their unblameable Conduct during their Residence here and the Entertainment the Town has receiv'd from their Performances, has greatly increased the Number of their Friends, and considerably Obviated many Objections hitherto made against Theatrical Representations in this City."—*The New-York Mercury*, May 3, 1762.

¹ Records i., 304. ² *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, viii., 250. ³ Dunlap's *History*, i., 408.

⁴ One needs to study the *Colden Papers*, contained in two volumes of the N. Y. Hist. Society's publications for the years 1876-7. See on the Family, Purple's *Genealogical Notes of the Colden Family in America*.

Stormy times were at hand, and much disorder prevailed. No human being could have avoided the perplexing issues or given satisfaction. Colden, however, possessed solid qualifications, carrying his careful scientific methods into public administration, and seeking, so far as he was able, to do his duty both to the people and the Crown.

July 7, 1762. During a heavy thunder-storm, the spire of Trinity Church was struck by lightning, the men being at work on it. The fire was "happily extinguished," several persons escaping with a slight shock.¹ This led the next day to a consideration of the subject of lightning rods, when it was ordered :

"that the Spire of the Steeple of Trinity Church be wholly New shingled and scuttles be made with hooks that may be thought proper to go up to the top of the spire and that a proper Iron conductor or conductors be affixed up from the Spindle of the Cock to come down into the ground."

The Vestry did not fail to reward the "vigilance of the Inhabitants" that saved the steeple, and accordingly it was resolved, that the Church Wardens

"distribute the sum of fifty pounds among the Persons that were active and exposed themselves to danger in putting out the fire of the Steeple of Trinity Church in such proportions as they shall think proper." "

Another account in the *New York Magazine*, January, 1790, says :

"In the summer of the year 1762, the steeple was struck by light-

¹ "Last Wednesday between 3 and 4 o'Clock in the Afternoon, came up a violent Gust of Wind and Rain, accompanied with uncommon Thunder and Lightning, during which the Steeple of Trinity Church in this City, was struck with the Lightning and took Fire, but by the timely and usual Vigilance of the Inhabitants happily extinguished, with but little Damage. The Steeple was under Repair, and one of the Gentlemen who had Care of it, being below, was (together with two of his Lads) struck down but received no Hurt, otherwise than remaining feeble for a short space." *The New-York Mercury*, July 12, 1762

² Records, i., 305, and DeVoe's *Market Book*, 259.

ning, and set on fire just below the ball ; but the fire was soon extinguished by the activity of the citizens, and no damage sustained but the loss of some shingles torn from the rafters by the violence of the stroke of lightning."

During this month of September, Mr. Tuckey began to make preparation for the approaching musical season, and published his proposition for what may be called a boy choir. The *Mercury* gave the particulars, and he agreed to receive all proper comers, until the number should reach fifty.¹

It may be here observed, that in 1756, Mr. Tuckey had been summarily discharged from the office of parish clerk in consequence of "refusal to officiate in time of Divine Service." From an advertisement in the *Journal*, it is

¹ *To all Lovers of DIVINE HARMONY.*

WHEREAS it is a custom in protestant congregations in Europe, on times of rejoicing, as well on annual as particular days of thanksgiving, to sing the Te Deum. Therefore, by particular Desire, a subscription is open'd for the encouragement of so laudable a practice in this city. Proposals as follows: Every lady, gentleman, &c, to subscribe whatever they please, for which subscription money, WILLIAM TUCKEY, has obligated himself, to teach a sufficient number of Persons to Perform the Te Deum either with or without an organ, or other Instruments ; and that it shall be as good a piece of musick, as any of the common Te Deums sung in any cathedral church in England.

Performers to pay nothing for instruction, (unless it be their pleasure) but it is expected that they will (as they are to be inhabitants of the city) be kind enough to join the choir on any particular occasion ; especially at the opening of the new organ, which is expected soon.

Public subscriptions are taken in by Mr. Weyman, Mr. Holt, and the printer of this paper, which monies are to be left in the persons hands who receive it, till there is a rehearsal of the piece before the subscribers, of which rehearsal they shall have notice.

MR. TUCKEY

Desires all persons from lads of ten years old, &c. as well as other persons of good repute, that has good voices, and are willing to join the company, to be speedy in their application, and give in their names to Mr. Hildreth, clerk of Trinity Church, or Mr. Silby, clerk of St. George's chappel ; as he will begin immediately to instruct the performers, and receive all qualify'd till there are 50 voices in the chorus." The New-York Mercury, September 13, 1762.

possible that he had since his discharge acted as musical instructor in the service of the parish.¹ The advertisement is for

“Proposals for publishing (by SUBSCRIPTION)

TWO SELECT PIECES of

CHURCH MUSIC.”

Which “two pieces” consisted of “an Hymn by way of an Anthem,” and of “a Performance adapted to a Funeral.”

He states that the anthem had been first designed for the benefit of the free school belonging to Trinity Church, and describes himself as for some Years a Professor of the Theory and Practice of VOCAL Music, Vicar Choral of the Cathedral Church of Bristol, and Clerk of the Parish of St. Maryport in said city, now resident in New York. He was connected with the first performance of the Oratorio of the Messiah in America, which took place January 9, 1770, being repeated in Trinity Church October 3, 1771, when no less than 28 clergymen were present.

September 24, 1762. The committee was instructed to sell the old organ “for the most they can gett”;² and

“John Tabor Kempe, Esq: his Majesty’s Attorney Generall of this Province was to have the use of the Canopy pew behind the south East Doore of Trinity Church adjoining Lord Sterling’s pew for the use of himself and Family.”

The wardens were also directed to “pay the sum of five

¹ The *New-York Journal or the General Advertiser* March 28, 1771.

² Records, i., 305. The following clipping is of interest in this connection:

“To be Sold by the Church Wardens, the Organ in Trinity-Church.—The Instrument is large, consisting of 26 Stops, 10 in the Great Organ, 10 in the Choir Organ and 6 in the Swell, three Sets of Keys; with a Frontispiece of gilt Pipes, and otherwise neatly adorned. It may be inspected, will be sold cheap, and the Purchaser may remove it immediately, (another being expected from England next Spring) but if not disposed of, is, on the Arrival of the new Organ, intended to be shipt to England. *The New-York Gazette*, January 3, 1763.

pounds towards the New Well nearly opposite Spring Garden," and "Mrs. Masey was to have the use of one half the Canopy pew behind the south east Doore" adjoining the pew of Mr. Andrew Barclay, Mr. Thomas Hays having the use of the other half.

On the 5th of April, 1763, we find the first mention of the proceedings which resulted in the erection of the second Chapel of Ease, subsequently known as St. Paul's, and still standing, the sole surviving ecclesiastical building of the Colonial period in this city. A committee consisting of Mr. Reede, Mr. Marston, Mr. Horsmanden, Mr. Harrison, and Mr. Desbrosses, or any two of them, was authorized

"to enquire and look out for a proper and convenient Lott of Ground in this City whereon to erect a New Church and report their opinion to this board with all convenient speed."¹

"This movement," observes Dr. De Costa, "may have been and probably was encouraged by the state of things existing in the Dutch congregation. Already preaching in the Dutch language had become unpopular among the younger portion of the Dutch congregation, which it was thought by not a few showed signs of diminution. The better portion of the people were now familiar, in some fair measure, with both English and Dutch, and intermarriages were also doing their peculiar work. The young people improved every opportunity of worshipping at Trinity, the 'English Church,' and there was a loud call for a minister in the Dutch church who could preach in both languages. Finally it was resolved to supply the deficiency, and the Rev. Archibald Laidlie, a Scotchman, was called, through the agency of the Amsterdam Classis, from Zealand. He arrived early in 1764, when new life sprang up in the Dutch Congregation. Some, however, were dissatisfied and wanted all the services in Dutch. Accordingly they commenced a suit in the Courts against the Dutch Corporation. This failing they said that they would have either all Dutch or all English. Hence, there was a renewed movement in the direction of Trinity Church with which body the Dutch had been on the kindest terms from its foundation. An established Church, too, was in accordance with all their ideas, their own Corporation having been recognized as the Establishment down to the

¹ Records, i., 309.

occupation of New Netherlands by the English. Therefore the defection could not be stayed, and Peter Van Burgh Livingstone said that if the change in the Dutch Church had been made thirty years earlier they would not have met with such losses, but, as it stood, the greater half of Trinity consisted of 'accessions from the Dutch Church.' April 15, of this year, the first English sermon was heard in the Middle Dutch Church, but the unwillingness of the Dutch to recognize the necessity of English preaching had already gone far, though not, perhaps, so far as indicated by Mr. Livingstone. Nevertheless the growth of Trinity parish was rapid, and the third edifice was not commenced any too soon."¹

June 16, 1763. Ordered to pay to

"Oliver DeLancey, Esq., and Company in behalf of this Corporation the sum of one hundred pounds towards making and completing the road laid out by a committee of the Corporation through the Church farm from the College ground to the land leased to William Burnham."²

Also,

"that materials be purchased for building a new Church on the southern part of the Churches lands unless a more convenient place can be purchased for that purpose,"

and that the organist be paid a salary of one hundred pounds currency. The site at Fulton street and Broadway was, however, adhered to.

Thanksgiving day was well observed in New York from the beginning, not being a New England institution, as many have supposed, but in reality an institution of the Church.³

November 3, 1763. "Resolved and ordered, that a new church be built on the Church ground upon the corner of Division Street" [Fulton] and that the committee

¹ From a manuscript in possession of the author.

² Records, i., 309.

³ See the article on "The Genesis of Thanksgiving Day," by Dr. De Costa, in the *Churchman*, November 22, 1879, and Dexter's "*Congregationalism*," 457. The following shows what was done in New York at this time:

"*New York, August 15.* Thursday last, being the Day appointed by Authority for a general Thanksgiving throughout this Province, the following Texts were made

"purchase materials and agree with workmen for building the same. Also ordered that what moneys are from time to time in hands of the Church Wardens more than is necessary to answer the annual Expenses of the Church and Chappel be applyed towards purchasing the materials and carrying on the building of the said Church."

Up to this time it would appear, Division Street had enjoyed a very uncertain existence, but about this time it was paved. Street lamps were also now introduced in various parts of the city.

It was arranged

"to agree with the Lutheran Congregation for exchanging part of their land adjoining the Lutheran Church and the School house in such manner as they shall think right."¹

The needs of the charity school were once more presented on November 26th,² being duly mentioned in the city press.

use of, by the Gentlemen Clergy of the several Denominations in this City ; which we have been assured, were extremely well adapted to the purport of the Day ; and handled on all Sides, with great Propriety. Viz.

At Trinity Church, by Dr. *Barclay*, from Psalms 178, Verses 28, 29.

At St. George's Chapel, by Mr. *Auchmuty*, from Psalm 27, Verses 6, 7.

At the Presbyterian, by Mr. *Bostwick*, from Ecclesiastes 7, Verse 14.

At the *Baptist*, by Mr. *Gano*, from Mathew 5, Verse 9.

At the *Moravian* (or rather *Unitus Fratrum*, the Name conferr'd on and given to the Brethren, by the Parliament, when they obtain'd the Act in their Favour) by Mr. *Yarrell*, from Psalm 29, latter part of Verse 11.—*The Lord will bless his People with Peace.*

At the *Old Dutch Church*, by Mr. *Ritsmagh*, from Psalm 72, Verse 3.

At the *New Dutch Church*, by Mr. *De Ronda*, from Psam 46, Verse 7 to the End.

At the *French*, by Mr. *CARLE*, from 1 Kings, Chap. 8, Verse 53.

At the *Sinagoue*, by Mr. *Joseph Jesuron Pinto* from *Zechariah*, Chap. 2, Verse 10.

After the different Congregations had broke up, and his Honour the Governor had returned to the Fort, His Majesty's, and other Healths, were drank under the Discharge of the Canon."—*The New-York Mercury*, Aug. 15, 1763,

The Sermon of Auchmuty is preserved in manuscript.

¹ Records, i., 310.

² "On Sunday next a Charity Sermon is to be preached at Trinity Church, and a Collection will be made for the Benefit of the Charity School, in this City : And on

April 5, 1764. The parish had not forgotten the valuable services of Andrew Gautier on the occasion of the burning of the charity school in 1750. In consideration of those services it was voted to allow him "so much ground in the Church yard as will be sufficient for him to build half a vault for himself and family."

A letter was also read from Mr. Grub, at London, who had secured a new organ brought by Captain Jacobson in *The Hope*. Thanks were voted to Mr. Grub

"for his care and trouble about the same, and for his generous benefaction of his Commission, and also the said Mr. Grub be desired to return the thanks of the Corporation to Mr. Stanley for his care and assistance about the said organ."

It was also

"resolved and ordered nem. con. That Mr. James Leadbetter be and he is hereby elected and chosen the organist for Trinity Church for the Term of one year to commence from the time he shall be desired to assist in tuning the organ, and that he be allowed the sum of one hundred pounds currency p. annum from the same day, to be paid by the Church Wardens quarterly, for which he shall be obliged to officiate on Sunday and Holy days throughout the whole year, and on Prayer Days only to the first day of November next."¹

On Monday morning, August 20, 1764, Dr. Barclay, who had been ill for some time, departed this life. The event was announced in the *Mercury* of August 27, which says :

"Last Monday Morning, between three and four o'Clock, departed this Life, in the 53d Year of his Age, the Revd. Mr. HENRY BARCLAY, Sunday following another will be preached at St. George's Chapel, for the like laudable Purpose.

N. B.—An Hymn suitable to the Occasion will be sung by the Children."—*The New-York Mercury* November 21, 1763.

"A very large Collection, for the Use of the Charity Children of Trinity-School, was made on the preaching of the two Charity Sermons on Sunday the 28th of November past, and Yesterday ; the former by Mr. Auchmuty, and the latter by Dr. Barclay."—*The New-York Mercury*, December 5, 1763.

¹ Records, i., 311.

D. D. Rector of Trinity Church, in this City ; And the Tuesday following, his Remains, attended by the Clergy of the several Denominations, the Gentlemen, and Chief Inhabitants of the City, preceded by the Charity Scholars, who sung a Psalm, suitable to the melancholy Occasion, during the Procession, were carried into Trinity Church, where an excellent Funeral Sermon, from *Rev.* xiv. 13, was preached, by the Revd. Mr. Auchmuty, to a prodigious large Audience, who were extremely affected with the pathetic and moving Manner in which they were addressed. The Service being over, the Corpse was deposited in his Family Vault, in the Church Yard.

“He was a Gentleman eminently distinguished for many amiable Qualities, and excellent Endowments of Mind ;—and each shone with peculiar Lustre :—The good Husband, the tender Parent, the kind Master, the liberal Benefactor, were all inherently united in him ; which, by long Improvement, spread its Kind Influence all around him. —In every Duty of his Function, he was regular and uniform, actuated by a Principle of Religion and Virtue, which he constantly studied and practised, with exemplary Goodness, and unaffected Sanctity—Substantial Piety and Devotion, animated by warm Zeal, for the Spirit of true Christianity, preserved him from the folly of Enthusiasm on the one Side, and the Danger of Superstition on the other ;—He walked in all the Ways of Virtue and Holiness, without that Noise, peculiar to those, who have only the Form, without the Power of doing it.—During his Ministry, he was continually engaged in the Business of it, and with unwearied Diligence he performed every Duty, with Chearfulness and Alacrity, till, by Degrees, his Health began to be impaired, by too great Care and Assiduity, in the Service of his Congregation, which, at last, put a final Period to his Life.—He submitted to Death with such a Resignation and Fortitude of Mind, with such a Calmness and Serenity of Temper, as bespeaks the genuine Characteristic of a Good Christian,—universal Charity and Benevolence, were his constant Pleasure and Delight : Those Virtues accompanied such a gentleness of Manners, and Mildness of Disposition ; joined with such a Sweetness of Converse, and Complacency of Temper ; that it were difficult to say which of all his Graces appeared the brightest in him : In fine, he was made by Nature, to be beloved, and, intitled, by Virtue, to be revered.”

CHAPTER XIX.

THE REV. SAMUEL AUCHMUTY, D.D.

Election to the Rectorship—Rev. Charles Inglis Called as Assistant—Declines—Rev. John Ogilvie Elected—Inglis Accepts and Comes to New York—Political Excitement—Sir Henry Moore Governor—Convention of Clergy 1758—St. Paul's Chapel—Description—Opened Oct. 30, 1767—Clergy Minister to Criminals under Sentence of Death—Rectory Built—Mortier's Paper Mill.

THE character and abilities of Mr. Samuel Auchmuty, the Assistant at Trinity Church marked him as the man to fill the place made vacant by Dr. Barclay's death. The action of the Vestry was prompt ; it had the approval of the entire community. Within a week, Mr. Auchmuty was elected and installed as Rector of Trinity Church.

On the 28th August, 1764, the following entry appears in the Records :

"It is unanimously Resolved and Ordered that the Reverend Mr. Samuel Auchmuty be and he is hereby elected, called and Chosen to be Rector of Trinity Church in the place of the Reverend Doctor Henry Barclay late Rector, deceased, and that Mr. Williams and Mr. Stuyvesant be desired to wait on the said Mr. Auchmuty to acquaint him with this resolution and to know if he will accept of the said Call and report his answer thereupon immediately to this Board."

Mr. Williams and Mr. Stuyvesant having waited on Mr. Auchmuty, pursuant to their appointment, reported his acceptance of the said call, and on being introduced into the vestry room he again declared his assent. Whereupon it is

"ordered that this Board present the said Mr. Auchmuty to his Honour the Lieutenant Governor, and desire he may be admitted & Instituted

as Rector and Inducted into the said Church, and a presentation being prepared for that purpose & the same being read & signed & sealed by all the members present in the words following (to witt)."¹

Mr. Auchmuty was formally inducted by mandate of Cadwallader Colden, Lieutenant Governor, on the first day of September, having previously, in Fort George, taken the oath and subscribed the declaration enjoined by law.

On the 9th of September, 1764, Mr. Auchmuty preached "at both Churches" from 2 Corinthians, iv: 5, "For we preach not ourselves," this being, as he said, the first sermon "after my Induction to the Rectory." In this discourse he dwelt upon the ministry and its duties. In closing he says :

"God forbid yt any one who has ye honour to be called a minister of of the gospel sh'd so far prostitute both his office & his commission & at once betray ye honor of God & ye safety of the Souls committed to his care. I have too good an opinion of you, my B'n to think yt you will add to the Difficulty & toilsomeness of our Duty by such unreasonable expectations. No such culpable compliance, I am confident, will be expected from me. The honble regard & ye generous & affectionate treatment yt my excellent Predecessor (now with God) who was yr most faithful servant for Jesus' sake, always experienced from you, is ye best assurance to me, yt that you are indeed able to endure sound doctrine. And ye endearing manner the unanimous voice in which I was called to be your Rector, (however unworthy,) are such proofs of affection for me yt I cannot but flatter myself yt I shall always be heard favorably & candidly by you. Thus,"

he concludes,

"I have given you an honest specimen of yt plainness & freedom of speech with which you are like to be entertained, & by wch I hope to recommend myself to every man's conscience in the sight of God."

Early in September, the Vestry took action to provide an assistant to the new rector. The question was first

¹ Records, i., 313.



*The Rev. Samuel Auchmuty, D.D.
Appointed Rector August 28 th, 1764. Died March 4 th, 1777.*

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considered whether there should be two assistants instead of one, and, a majority being of the opinion that one would suffice, the Rev. Charles Inglis was called as such assistant minister, at a salary of two hundred pounds currency per annum, besides what might be raised for him by subscription, and it was further ordered that he should be allowed twenty pistoles for travelling expenses, for he was at that time incumbent at Dover, in the province of New Jersey.

Mr. Inglis, having had this call under consideration for some time declined it, for personal reasons, given by him in a letter to Mr. Auchmuty, at Philadelphia, December, 10, 1764, from which I make the following extracts :

“ When Mrs. Inglis lay upon her Death bed I foresaw the Difficulty that would attend my removal from Dover, and therefore wrote to you releasing you from your engagement to me and requesting you to provide for some person to supply my place as Assistant. Every letter you received from me since was wrote in such distress and perplexity of mind, as you may naturally suppose, and in doubt as to my removal in consequence of those difficulties on one hand, and my inclination to settle in New York on the other. I have lately had a better opportunity of knowing the state of my mission than formerly when my mind was first overwhelmed with my loss. I shall therefore lay its state before you and then explicitly tell my resolution in consequence of it. This I should have done before had not my affliction and perplexity occasioned by it prevented me.”

He then goes on to say :

“ Mrs. Inglis’ state of health was my principal reason for leaving Dover, altho’ there was much discontent among my people at hearing of my Intended Removal, yet this Reason was in some measure silenced, tho’ it did not fully satisfie them. On her death they renewed their solicitations for my continuance with more warmth, and indeed the principal cause of my removal was no more. When I engaged to settle at New York, Dr. Smith proposed to send another person to succeed me at Dover. My people, however, would by no means consent to have him, nor is there any prospect of another to go there. There are two

churches which were begun in my mission, chiefly through my Persuasion, yet unfinished, and the congregations of the churches absolutely declare they will lay aside all thought of finishing them if I go away. A new mission is on the point of being opened, and that design must also of necessity drop, if I remove. Presbyterianism, and Quakers are making daily encroachments, but especially a mad enthusiast who has lately started up where the New Mission is to be opened, has seduced many to his pernicious delusions, and even the Rumour of my going away has gained him some Proselytes, and elated him much. All these particulars put together will leave no doubt I think with any impartial Person that it is my duty to continue in my mission until it can be better settled. For my part my Conscience would ever reproach me to leave it thus, nor could I in that case expect a blessing from Heaven. Believe me, sir, it is with reluctance that I lay aside the thought of settling in your city. I have the most grateful sense of your kindness, as well as the kindness of the several worthy members of your Church with whom I had the honour to be acquainted. Be pleased to return to them my sincere thanks, especially to your Church Wardens and Vestry. This I should do now in person myself ; but it is my opinion, as well as the opinion of all My Friends, my going to New York now, as matters are situated, would answer no good end, perhaps perplex matters more. I shall be detained in this city a few days by the death of an uncle in law. It would give me much pleasure to hear from you in that time. If anything I can do or say consistent with what conscience assures me to be my duty, will give any further satisfaction to you or your People, you may readily command me, being with sincere esteem to them and you, Rev. Sir, your Affectionate Brother and Servant in Christ,

CHARLES INGLIS."¹

Mr. Inglis having declined the call, the Vestry proceeded to another election, and it was voted

"that the Rev. Mr. John Ogilvie (a gentleman well recommended by the Church Wardens) be called as an Assistant Minister to the Rector in his Parochial duties and that he be allowed for that service by this Corporation as a Salary two hundred pounds currency p. annum, besides what may be raised for him by subscription."

A committee, upon the passage of the resolution, went out and brought Mr. Ogilvie, "who being acquainted by

¹ Records, i., 318-19.

the Board with their Resolution declared his assent and accepted the call." His salary was subsequently increased to three hundred pounds, including house rent, to be paid quarterly.²

This clergyman was already favorably known in the Church and province. Of Scotch ancestry, but born in New York in 1722, he graduated at Yale College in 1748, with Samuel Seabury. It is probable that he went to England for ordination soon after leaving college, as he began his work in Albany, March 1, 1749. He succeeded the Rev. Dr. Barclay in the Mohawk Mission and also ministered in the Church at Albany. He had been with the army under General Amherst in 1760, and had done service among the Indians. At Oneida, Amherst found the Indians at worship, and "expressed a vast pleasure at the decency with which the service of our Church was performed by a grave Indian sachem." Mr. Ogilvie baptized a number of adults and children, married nine couples, and administered the Holy Communion to whites and Indians, at Oneida, and held regular services for the Indians, by direction of General Amherst. He appears to have been a man of parts and culture; a fine picture of him, by Copley, is in the collection of portraits in the possession of the Corporation.

At a later date, June 7, 1765, Mr. Inglis was again called to the parish, when, finding himself free, he accepted the position. He ultimately became rector, and, as will be seen, occupied the position with credit and honor during the crucial period of the history of the parish. When, at length, he was obliged to leave New York, and took refuge, outcast and proscribed, under the English flag, his merits were properly recognized in his appointment and consecration as Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia,

² Records, i., 315-16.

the first of the luminous galaxy of Missionary Bishops of the Anglican Communion.

The peace which reigned within the Church formed a strong contrast to the growing disorder in the world outside. The British Ministry, assuming a bolder attitude towards the people in the North American Colonies, had imposed heavier taxes, and obtained the passage of the Stamp Act, a measure which excited almost universal resentment and opposition. The obnoxious Act was to take effect in November, 1765. Meanwhile a Provincial Congress was held, in which the deputies from several of the colonies, including New York, Massachusetts, and Virginia, denying the right of Parliament to tax the people, drew up an Address to the King protesting against the Stamp Act. The agents for the sale of the stamps, foreseeing and dreading the rising storm, very generally resigned their positions, though not before some of their number had been burned in effigy. McEvers, the agent for New York, took that course, returning the stamps in his possession to Colden; while the people elated by the countenance and support of Pitt, who declared "that this Kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the Colonies," called for the immediate repeal of the Act. Governor Colden felt obliged to support the Ministry, and took measures to guard the hated stamps, at the same time repairing the fort and mounting additional guns upon it. The day before the Act was to go into operation, the merchants of New York held a meeting and resolved to import no more goods from England, while the people marched in large numbers to Fort George, to defy the Governor. Fences were torn down near the fort, the Governor's carriage, and an effigy of that dignitary, were placed on the pile, and the whole was reduced to ashes; while the house of one of the officers of the Royal Artillery

was assaulted and sacked.¹ The following day a notice appeared that the Lieutenant Governor would have nothing more to do with the stamps, but intended to refer the subject to Sir Henry Moore, whose immediate arrival was expected. But the people were still dissatisfied, and it finally became necessary to remove the stamps and place them in charge of the Mayor and Council who gave a receipt for them to Colden. John Cruger, who was at that time Mayor, addressed General Gage on behalf of the Council, congratulating him upon the restoration of tranquillity. About this time, it is said, the terms "Whig" and "Tory" came into general use in the province.

Sir Henry Moore arrived Nov. 15, 1765, the year following that of the induction of Mr. Auchmuty. An address was voted to him by the Vestry congratulating him on his safe arrival. The news of the repeal of the Stamp Act was received with enthusiasm by the people, who, in their admiration, set up a statue of King George III. in Bowling Green, and one of Pitt in Wall St.² Governor Moore had the good sense to pursue a wise and politic course, but was unable to act in harmony with the Assembly. His death, greatly regretted, recalled Lieutenant Governor Colden to the head of affairs. The latter, though able, learned, prudent, and well-meaning, was not popular with those over whom it was his misfortune to bear rule.

Meanwhile, in spite of the agitation about them, the clergy steadily pursued their work. On the 21st of May, 1766, the principal rectors and missionaries of New

¹ Dunlap's *History of New Netherlands*, i., 416-420.

² When the British Army took possession of New York City in 1776, the soldiers decapitated Pitt, and the Americans, in their turn, treated the statue with indignity. It is now preserved in the rooms of the New York Historical Society. This Society also possesses a portion of the statue of the King, which was overturned during the Revolution. The names of the Committee signing the public call for the statue of Pitt were James de Lancey, William White, John Harris Cruger, and Isaac Low.

York, New Jersey, and Connecticut met at the house of Dr. Auchmuty, and formed themselves into a convention.

"Wednesday last a voluntary Convention of the Clergy of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, was held here, when the Reverend Doctor AUCHMUTY preached a very excellent Sermon suitable to the Occasion to a considerable Number of his Reverend Brethren from ST. PAULS 2d. Epistle to TIMOTHY, 4th. Chap. and 5th Verse *But watch thou in all Things, endure Afflictions, do the Work of an Evangelist, make full Proof of thy Ministry*, The Doctor after a pathetick Application to his Brethren, in the conclusion of his Sermon addressed himself to his Audience, and congratulated them upon the Repeal of the disagreeable Stamp Act, and then concluded the whole with Such Advice as our present Circumstances highly require should be followed." ¹

Probably this was one of the special conventions for which provision was made.

In his letter of March 20, 1759, Dr. Johnson had urged upon Archbishop Secker the importance of such conventions. Fourteen of the clergy were present. An address was presented to the Governor, in which it is stated, that

"our first Convention was in November, 1758, and from that time our *Annual* Conventions, attended by some of our Brethren from the adjacent Provinces, have been regularly held with considerable solemnity, a Sermon having always been preached at the opening of them, and our occasional Conventions have sometimes amounted to several in the Course of the year. The Members meet together on terms of equality." ²

On this occasion new officers were chosen; Dr. Samuel Johnson, of Stratford, was elected president, and the Rev. Samuel Seabury, of Jamaica, Long Island, was appointed secretary.⁴ In this capacity Mr. Seabury, afterwards

¹ *The New-York Mercury*, May 26, 1766. See also the *Weekly Post Boy*, May 22, 1766.

² *N. Y. Col. Docs.* vii., 374.

³ This address was written by Chandler, and is given in Clark's *History of St. John's Church, Elizabeth Town, New Jersey*, 118. It was signed by the Rev. Messrs. Chandler, (President) Cooper, McKean, Inglis, Cutting, Jarvis, Bennet, Avery, Evans, Peters, Charlton, Sturgeon, Leaming, Neil, Cooke, and Seabury.

⁴ The original minutes of these proceedings are now in the possession of the Rev. William J. Seabury, D.D., of New York City.

Bishop of Connecticut, appears to have been both useful and influential.

It was arranged to elect a president annually, the same person being ineligible after two years' service. A special convention could be called on the request of any three members, and due care was taken to have the clergy outside of New York represented on the committee. Messrs. Auchmuty, Cooper, Charlton, Munro, and the secretary formed the first standing committee. Among the things proposed was to take in hand the recommending of candidates for Holy Orders, and to see that the salary of the clergy should be properly secured.

It was further ordered that the next regular convention should be held on the day following the next commencement, and that Mr. Charlton of St. Andrew's, Richmond, Staten Island, should preach the sermon.

The question of clerical supply was gone over at these gatherings, and it appeared that

"no less than one out of five who have gone for Holy Orders from the Northern Colonies have perished in the attempt : ten having miscarried out of fifty-one."

St. Paul's Chapel was now completed. The edifice stood remote from the heart of the town, in a part of the city not yet built up, and on a site commanding a varied prospect. The chancel formed the east end ; at the western extremity was a low square tower, with a projecting porch from which the ground lay open to the river. The portico at the east formed a part of the original design ; the main entrance, however, was by a door in the middle of the south side. The church contained a pew for the Royal Governor, and was lighted by means of huge glass chandeliers. The sacristies were at the eastern end, near the chancel ; above were rooms accessible by

doors at the east end of the galleries. One of these, known as the "Library Room," contained the valuable books which from time to time had been presented to the parish; when the troublous days came, it was walled up to keep its treasures safe from popular fury. The church formed one of the finest ornaments of the city at that time. The architect was McBean, a Scotchman, and probably a pupil of Gibbs, who built the church in London, known as "St. Martin's in the Fields."¹

The venerable chapel still stands on its old site, the only surviving ecclesiastical relic of the Colonial era. The interior has been changed; the sacristies are now at the west end; the beautiful chandeliers have vanished; the canopied pews have disappeared; but the chancel and altar, the memorial tablets with their blazoned arms, and the old pulpit with the Prince of Wales's feathers atop, still greet the eye, and to some extent alleviate the regret, that this ancient edifice was not allowed to remain precisely as it was, an invaluable memorial of the past.

Accounts of the opening of St. Paul's Chapel are to be found, not in the minutes, which make no reference to it whatever, but in the newspapers of the day. For instance, the *Journal* contains the following:

"Thursday last the new Episcopal Chapel, in this City, called St. Paul's, and esteemed one of the most elegant Edifices on the Continent, was opened, and dedicated to Almighty God. The Concourse of People of all Ranks and Denominations, (who attended on the Occasion) was very great.

"At 10 o'Clock, the Council, Clergy, Church-Wardens, and Vestry of Trinity Church, the Mayor and Corporation of the City, waited on

¹ Mr. Isaac Bell, who died in this city, A.D., 1860, at the advanced age of ninety-two, was personally acquainted with McBean many years after the Revolution, the architect being at that time a resident of New Brunswick, N. J. There are good reasons for supposing that McBean was a pupil of Gibbs, who was also a Scotchman and a practical architect in London, at the time of his death, A.D. 1754. See an article in the *Crayon* of June, 1857, by Hon. Gulian C. Verplanck.



*St. Paul's Chapel was commenced May 14th, 1764,
completed in 1766 and opened October 30th, 1766.*

his Excellency Sir Henry Moore, our Governor, at Fort George : From thence they went in Procession to the Chapel, in the following Order, *viz.* :

- I. The Mayor, Aldermen, and other Members of the City Corporation, preceded by the Charity Children of Trinity Church.
- II. The Clergy.
- III. The Governor's Council.
- IV. Their Excellencies, Sir HENRY MOORE, and General GAGE.
- V. The Church Wardens and Vestry.

"After Divine Service which was adapted to this particular Occasion, an excellent Sermon was preached by the Revd. Doctor Samuel Auchmuty, Rector of Trinity Church. His text was taken from Exod. iii., 5. *And he said, draw not nigh hither : Put off thy Shoes from off thy Feet, for the place whereon thou standest is Holy Ground.*

"A suitable Band of Music, vocal and instrumental, was introduced. Several Pieces of Church Music and Psalms, were sung and played by them in Concert, at the usual Intervals ; and the judicious Execution contributed much to heighten the Solemnity.¹

"The Whole was conducted with the greatest Decorum. The decent Behaviour of the Audience, consisting of many Thousands of People, their Devotion during Divine Service, and fixed Attention to the Sermon, did Honour to themselves and to the Preacher."²

The sermon preached by Dr. Auchmuty on that occasion is a good specimen of the pulpit oratory of the 18th Century ; the arguments presented are drawn from Holy Scripture, the old Catholic Fathers, and the divines of the Church of England ; the style is clear, elevated, and impressive. The preacher undertakes to show,

"1st, THAT ALMIGHTY GOD is eminently present in one Place more than in another ; and, therefore, that such Place, with great propriety, may be called holy.

¹ October 29th. "His Excellency Go. Henry Moore, having expressed desire of Introducing a Band of Musick in St. Paul's Chappell at the Dedication thereof, and this Board being Willing to Gratifie his Excellency in his request, It is ordered that the said Band of Musick be admitted accordingly to join in such part of the Service as is usual and customary in like cases, but that no other pieces of Musick be allowed but such only as are adapted to the service of the Church on such solemn occasions."—Records, i., 326.

² *The New-York Journal*, November 6, 1766.

"2dly., THAT CHURCHES dedicated to the ALMIGHTY'S Service may be justly looked upon as such Places.

"From whence will appear—

"3dly., THE Obligations which we are under, while in such a Situation, and in the more immediate Presence of so holy a God, of behaving with Respect, Reverence, and Devotion."

This sermon was printed by request of the Vestry as the following record and advertisement show :

"Resolved that the thanks of this Board be given to the Reverend Dr. Auchmuty for his sermon preached last Thursday at the Dedication of St. Paul's Chappell and that he be desired to deliver a copy of the same to this Corporation to be printed," which request the Rector said he would comply with "as soon as he could get time to correct the Sermon and copy it fair." It was also resolved that the Wardens should "have so many copies printed as they shall see meet."¹

A copy of this sermon is in possession of the present rector ; it was presented to him by the late beloved and venerated Dr. Samuel Roosevelt Johnson, of the General Theological Seminary. At the Centennial Celebration of St. Paul's Chapel, Oct. 30, 1867, Dr. Auchmuty's sermon was read, as the sermon for the day, by the Rev. Edward Y. Higbee, D.D., then senior assistant minister of the parish, and listened to with profound attention by the congregation who, on that occasion, crowded the venerable edifice.

About this time his Excellency, Sir Henry Moore, made an offer, through the rector, to grant the Corporation a new charter if they should think it necessary and for the interests of the church. It was thereupon

¹ " Just Published, and to be sold by Hugh Gaine.

PRICE, ONE SHILLING,

A SERMON

Preached at the Opening of ST. PAUL'S CHAPEL, in the City of NEW-YORK, on the 30th Day of October, A.D., 1766. By SAMUEL AUCHMUTY, D.D., Rector of TRINITY CHURCH, and Chaplain to the Right Hon. WILLIAM Earl of STIRLING."—*The New-York Mercury*, February 9, 1767.

"ordered that the Rector and two Church Wardens be desired to wait upon his Excellency and in the Name of this Corporation return him their Thanks for his Kind offer and acquaint his Excellency that they would inspect and examine their present Charter, and if they thought it necessary to apply for a New one they would take the liberty of making a Proper application to his Excellency for that purpose. Resolved, also, that the Rector, two Church Wardens, Mr. Justice Livingston and Mr. Kissam be a committee to examine the present Charter and that they apply to the Attorney General and beg the favour of his assistance for that purpose, and that if upon such examination they find it deficient or that it is necessary to make any alteration that they then draw the Draft of a new Charter and lay it before the Vestry as conveniently as they can."¹

The work of the parish continuing to increase, an additional assistant minister was needed, and, at a meeting held December 23, 1766, the Rev. Samuel Provoost was duly called, "to officiate in his turn at the several churches on the Lord's Day and at Prayers on Week Days when requested by the Rector," and his salary was fixed at £200 per annum.²

February 6, 1767. Dr. Auchmuty acquainted the Board that

"his Excellency Sr. Henry Moore had made him an offer that if this Corporation would Petition him for a tract of land to erect a Township that he would do all in his power that it should be granted. Whereupon it was Resolved that a Petition be proposed Praying a grant for a tract of Land for that purpose, and that the Rector, with Mr. David Clarkson and Mr. Kissam be a Committee to Prepare the said Petition and that the Church Wardens affix the seal of the Corporation thereto."³

The grant, as we shall see further on, was eventually obtained, but the land was soon after lost by transfer of the whole region in which it was situated to Vermont.

The journals of the day contain some dismal statistics showing the clergy of the parish in their painful relation to the criminal class, to whom they were obliged to minis-

¹ Records, i., 327.

² *Ibid.*, i., 328.

³ *Ibid.*, i., 328.

ter prior to their suffering the extreme penalty of the law. To us, the administration of justice at that period seems brutally severe, and the function of the clergy must have been most distressing ; but such was the custom of the time. What good could result to a condemned criminal from preaching a sermon to him prior to execution it must be left to the imagination to decide ; but this is a part of the picturesque history of the day, as drawn in the Hogarthian style.

Four criminals, Philip McCarroll, Isaac Crawford, John Williams, and a poor creature merely described as “a Negro Wench,” only seventeen years of age, her name being considered as of no consequence, were condemned to death in the Supreme Court ; the girl was to die for stealing sundry articles out of a private house.

“On Monday last, the four condemn’d Criminals mentioned in our former Paper ; were executed, pursuant to their Sentence, on a Gallows Erected for that Purpose, near the Fresh-Water. Their Execution had been suspended a Week, at the Intercession of the Rev. Doct. Auchmuty, who finding them all remarkably ignorant, even of the first Principles of Religion, had, ever since their Condemnation, and especially the last Week, been very assiduous, as have also the other Ministers of this City, in giving them such spiritual Assistance as their unhappy Case required.

“Friday last, Doct. Auchmuty preach’d a Sermon to them on the 13th Verse of the 103d Psalm,—*Yea, like as a Father pitieth his own Children ; even so is the LORD merciful unto them that fear Him.* The Sermon concluded with an Exhortation suitable to the Occasion.—To guard against Sin in general, since, in whatever Shape it may appear, it has a natural Tendency, if indulged, to lead to the most enormous Crimes, the least Sin differing only in Degree, not in Kind from those for which these poor Criminals were condemned to die,—for *the Wages of* (all unrepented allow’d) *Sin, is Death.*

“On Sunday last the Rev. Mr. Ogilvie, Curate of Trinity Church, gave them a very affecting Exhortation, concluded with a Prayer and Hymn, adapted to their melancholy Circumstances. Many of the Inhabitants of this City, attended these Discourses, and from their Obser-

vations of the calamitous Situation of the poor unhappy confined Debtors, immediately sent Wood and other Necessaries for their Relief, which were received with the utmost Gratitude, and will probably excite others to follow so laudable an Example.

“Solomon tells us, it is better to go to the House of Mourning than to the House of Mirth.—It is certain, that People abounding in Riches, and sated with luxurious Enjoyments, are apt to forget the Distresses of their Fellow Creatures, or to form very faint, imperfect, unaffected Conceptions of them.—Hence it is, that so little is done, by Persons who have the Ability, and are not destitute of Humanity, or Compassion, for the Relief of those unhappy Persons, who without any Crime but being poor and unfortunate, are excluded from Society, cut off from the Comforts of Life, and render’d useless to their Families and Country. It is therefore to be wished, that those whom Heaven has blessed with Affluence, and will Judge for the use they have made of it, would more frequently visit those dreary Abodes of Indigence, Famine, and Wretchedness. We see, in this Instance, the good Effect of such Visits, tho’ accidental; the Impressions made upon the Mind by sensible Objects of so affecting a Kind, have that Force which is necessary to rouse our languid Virtues and call them into Action. . . .

“At the Place of Execution the Criminals seem’d resign’d to their Fate. Crawford, Carrol, and the Negro Woman said little or nothing, and appeared much terrified at the approach of Death; but Williams spoke some Time to the People, advised them to shun the vicious Courses that had brought him to so shameful an End, and acknowledged the Justice of his punishment.”—*The New-York Journal*, February 12, 1767.

Here is another illustration of the severity of the law in the case of a man who stole books out of St. Paul’s Chapel and was condemned to death. The *Journal* of August 6th says :

“William Johnson, on an Indictment of Felony, for Sacrilege, in Stealing Books out of St. Paul’s Church, was tried and found Guilty, and ordered to be executed on Monday the 17th Instant.—This Person, by the name of William Herring, was tried in the Term of October last, upon three Indictments for Grand Larceny, and found Guilty, but was allowed his Clergy ¹ and burnt in the Hand.”

¹ The benefit of clergy meant the sparing of an individual on account of his ability to read or write, those things being at one time the almost exclusive accomplishments of the clergy.

This certainly was much worse than the stealing of "sundry articles" by the colored girl, yet the man found friends, so that in the *Mercury* of August 17th, it is said :

"We hear that William Johnson, who was to have been executed this Day pursuant to his Sentence, for Felony and Sacrilege, has obtained a Pardon from his Excellency Sir Henry Moore, Bart. at the Request of Doctor Auchmuty, and the Rest of his Brethren."

At the meeting of September 26th it was voted to borrow "the further sum of six hundred pounds in order to finish the Portico and Fences of St. Paul's Church," then, as now, the cost of all such work exceeding the estimate. Also that

"Mr. David Clarkson and Mr. Barclay be a Committee to procure a Picture to be drawn of the late Rev. Doctor Barclay deceased, late Rector of Trinity Church in this city at the expense of this Corporation to be hung up in the Vestry Room."¹

March 25th.

"Whereas by the Charter of Incorporation to Trinity Church in this city, it appears to have been intended—That a convenient dwelling House should be erected for the residence of a Rector of the said Church, which has not hitherto been done. And whereas it is thought that the providing of such a Building will not only be complying with the original design of the Charter, but greatly redound to the credit and honour of said Corporation : It is therefore unanimously Resolved and Ordered that the present Charity School House be altered and made into a neat and convenient Dwelling House, and when finished that the same together with the yard and garden thereunto belonging be appropriated and set apart for the use and dwelling of the present Rector of the said Church and his successors forever, free from the payment of any rent for the same, and that a New School House be erected on some other part of the lands belonging to this Corporation to serve and be made use of for the Charity School instead of the present one."²

¹ Records, i., 330. A portrait of Dr. Barclay now hangs in the Vestry Room of Trinity Chapel.

² Records, i., 333.

Five hundred pounds were borrowed for the improvements.

April 18th.

"As the Lotts of ground fronting the Commons proposed for building the New School on Can't at present be obtained for that purpose as Obadiah Well's lease for the same is not yet expired. Ordered that a temporary School House of Fifty feet in front and Thirty feet deep be erected and built on some of the Lotts behind Trinity Church, and that the same be built of brick and covered with Tile or Slate."¹

At this early period, paper making had become one of the local industries, and on May 3d, Abraham Mortier complained that John Keating was building a paper mill on the church lands adjoining his own improvements, and that the said paper mill would "be a nuisance to him and greatly depreciate the value of his improvements." Keating also put in a communication calling for the performance of the contract, when the Board empowered a committee to arrange the matter with the lessee in a satisfactory way, and to persuade him to take some other ground² which was finally agreed to by all the parties.

The most noticeable event of this year connected with ecclesiastical affairs was the holding of the convention in the City of New York. This gathering was better attended than any of the previous assemblies, an indication of the growing strength of the Church in the three provinces represented.³

¹ Records, i., 334.

² *Ibid.*, i., 335. Keating appears to have been one of the earliest paper makers in New York. In the Supplement to the *New-York Journal* of November 16, 1769, Keating "Between the Fly-Market and Burling's Slip," offers "Ready Money for clean Linen Rags," "All persons who have the Welfare of their Country at Heart are esired seriously to consider the importance of a Paper Manufactory to this Government." "Save your rags," he cries, "for the Benefit which will accrue to the public in General."

³ "On Wednesday last, the Annual Convention of the Episcopalian Ministers of this Province, Connecticut and New-Jersey, was held in this City, on which occasion, a Sermon was preached, by the Rev. Dr. Cooper, President of King's College, on the

December 19, 1768.

"The Church Wardens having communicated to the Board that His Excellency the Governor in the Name and behalf of the Lodge of Free Masons had requested that a Charity Sermon might be preached in Trinity Church on the next St. John's [Evangelist] Day for the benefit of the poor of this city in general. It is therefore the opinion of the Board that the Rector give the Liberty of his pulpit for that purpose, as it is conceived such a charity will be very Seasonable and tend to the relief of many distressed and indigent Persons in this severe season of the year."¹

That the Church in New York at this period was prospering, appears from a letter written by Sir William Johnson, from Johnson Hall, January 25, 1769, to Dr. Auchmuty, in which he says :

"In Matters of Religion indeed, the Church of England is on so respectable a footing at New York that I hope & have reason to think it will now Succeed & that it will Extend itself and flourish, to which any Consistent endeavors of mine that might be at all deemed necessary should not be wanting."²

former Part of the first Verse of the 28th Ch. of Exodus.—A larger Number of Ministers were present, than ever assembled before upon the like Occasion.—*The New-York Journal*, May 16, 1768.

¹ Records, i., 339. "On Tuesday last, being *St. John's-Day*, by Desire of his Excellency Sir HENRY MOORE, a Charity Sermon was preached at *Trinity Church*, in this City; the Rev. Dr. *Auchmuty* Rector of *Trinity*, delivered a most excellent Discourse upon the Occasion, to a polite and numerous Audience; several Lodges of the ancient and honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, properly decorated, attended divine Worship: The Collection was very considerable, the Members of the *Hiram Lodge* only, having contributed *One Hundred Pounds*; a seasonable Relief at this inclement Season to the Poor of this City, many of whom have been in the greatest Distress. *The New-York Gazette*, January 2, 1769.

² *N. Y. Docs. Hist.*, iv., 254.

CHAPTER XX.

THE RECTORSHIP OF DR. AUCHMUTY, CONTINUED.

Steps Taken towards Disestablishment—Commencement of King's College, 1769—Death of Sir Henry Moore—His Funeral—Lord Dunmore—Auchmuty's Letter to Sir William Johnson on the State of the Church and Public Affairs—Efforts to Obtain an American Episcopate—Church Music.

WE have reached the year 1771. The time was far spent ; one system was passing away and another coming in ; signs of change were in the threatening skies. To one of those signs we have now to give attention ; a presage of disestablishment was in the air. The Church of England had been established in the province. To the nonconformist part of the population this was a substantial grievance ; the support of the ministry of that Church, fell in great part on people not attendant on their ministrations. A movement now began which carried disestablishment with it as a direct consequence ; and be this noted and remembered that it was begun by members of the Church, who were already persuaded that she would be more prosperous if free from connection with the State. Colonel Lewis Morris, a communicant of the Church of England, and a grandson of one of the early supporters of Trinity Parish, opened the case in the New York Assembly, April 6, 1769, by bringing in a bill to relieve non-Episcopalians from taxes levied to support the established Church in the four counties of the Province of New York. A bill to that effect was passed ten days later, but the Council failed to approve it. Four other bills passed the Assembly at a later time, the last going to a third reading

January 26, 1771. The Governor and Council, however, refused assent to all of these measures, as inconsistent with the law of England, which made the Church the only legal ecclesiastical body. Nevertheless, disestablishment was begun, and in its proper place we shall see that it was completed in 1777, when the first constitution of the State of New York was established.

Early in the year 1760, the Rev. Samuel Provoost signified to the rector his intention of going to England some time in May upon his own private business; the question being proposed whether or no his salary should be continued during his absence, it was unanimously decided in the negative. This decision seems to have been reached on a view of the financial condition of the parish. Mr. Reade, the Senior Warden,

“laid before the Board a state of the annual income and Expenses of the Church, by which it appears that the latter far exceed the former, and the same being taken into consideration it is thought absolutely necessary to retrench the annual expenses as much as possible.”

The commencement of the college passed off this year with spirit. The procession was “more solemn than usual” and the alumni already began to make a figure in the procession, which took its way from the college to Trinity Church. At the same place, a few days later, services were held in honor of the King’s birthday, at which the governor was present.

“On Tuesday our last annual COMMENCEMENT was held in this *City*. The procession, which was larger and more solemn than usual, began to move at 10 o’Clock, from KING’S COLLEGE TO TRINITY CHURCH, in the following Order. 1st, The young Gentlemen belonging to the College-School. 2ndly, the Students of the College. 3dly, The former Graduates. 4thly, The President and Professors. 5thly, The Clergy. 6thly, His EXCELLENCY Sir HENRY MOORE, Bart.

with the Members of his MAJESTY'S COUNCIL ; and many other Gentlemen, Military as well as civil, who attended on the Occasion."¹

Among those who received degrees we find the following names ; Rev. John Tyler, Rev. Ebenezer Kneeland, John Troup, James Barclay, etc.

"Yesterday being the Anniversary of his Majesty's Birth Day when he entered his 32d Year ; his Excellency Sir HENRY MOORE, our Governor, was waited upon to Trinity Church, by his Majesty's Council, the members of the General Assembly for this City, his Worship the Mayor and Corporation, the Clergy of the Church of England, and a very great Number of the principal Merchants of this Place. Divine Service being ended, they returned to Fort-George, where his Majesty's, and several other loyal Healths were drank, under a Discharge of 21 Cannon from Copsey-Battery.

We hear his Excellency General GAGE is to give an Entertainment this Day on the same occasion."²

The same issue of the *Gazette* contains this advertisement :

"Just Published, and to be sold by the Printer hereof,
Price 5s, 6d.

The

APPEAL DEFENDED.

OR

The Proposed AMERICAN EPISCOPATE
VINDICATED.

The answer to the Objections and Misrepresentations of
Dr. Chauncey, and others.

By THOMAS BRADBURY CHANDLER, D.D."

The Corporation having provided a commodious and convenient dwelling-house, yard, and garden for the residence and accommodation of the rector and his successors, free from the payment of rent, it was therefore "unanimously Resolved and Ordered," that, instead of the

¹ *The New-York Gazette*, May 22, 1769.

² *Ibid.*, June 5, 1769.

former allowance paid to the rector, there be allowed and paid to the Rev. Dr. Samuel Auchmuty, the present rector, a salary of two hundred and fifty pounds currency p. annum. . . . It was also ordered that "the said house be papered and finished at the expense of this corporation in such a manner as the Committee appointed for altering the same shall approve."¹

In *The New-York Journal* of July 20, 1769, we read that

"On Tuesday Evening was examined and committed to Goal, a Man, who has called himself Hamilton, and says he is a Sailor, who confessed that he had in his Possession, and sold to different Persons the three Damask Covers of the Cushions, and three Prayer Books, lately stolen out of St. Paul's Church in this City, but says he found them, and had no Concern in stealing them."

The New-York Gazette of July 31, 1769 :

"Saturday last the Supreme Court ended here, when John Hennesey, for Felony and Sacrilege, in stealing the Sattin Covering of the Cushions of St. Paul's in this City. . . . received Sentence of Death, and is to be executed the 23d of August."

The New-York Chronicle of August 24th says that

"John Hennesey who was lately tried, convicted, and sentenced to be hang'd yesterday the 23d. Inst., for robbing St. Paul's Church, has obtained a pardon from his Excellency the Governor."

This was probably done at the instance of the parish clergy.

To copy largely from the Church Records and the journals of the period, through the latter years of the rectorship of Dr. Auchmuty, seems hardly worth while ; it would amount to a mere repetition of acts of the Vestry, reports on men or matters, memoranda of disbursements, the preaching of charity sermons, and the like. The work of the Church, under its faithful clergy, went on as quietly and steadily as if the elements were not fast be-

¹ Records, i., 343.

coming charged with the material of storm and tempest. Considering the character of the times, there is something touching and attractive in these calm and unimpassioned details of duty well and quietly performed, as though whatever might befall the kingdoms of this world, the kingdom of our Lord would stand unshaken. It shall suffice then to note some of the more important matters which catch the eye as it skims the faded pages.

Sir Henry Moore's death, which occurred on August 11th, is announced in *The New-York Chronicle* of Sept. 14, 1769. That paper contains a long account of his funeral, which we condense :

"The Governor's remains were interred the evening of the next day, in the Chancel of Trinity Church. The corpse was preceded by the 16 Regiment, the Charity-School-Boys, and the Clergy of *all persuasions*. His Majesty's Council supported the Pall. His Excellency General Gage, and Lord Drummond, followed among the mourning Relations ; and in the suit were the Physicians, Judges, Mayor, Magistrates, and whole Corporation, the Members of the General Assembly, the Field-Officers, the Captains of his Majesty's Ships of War, and the General's Staff, the Commissioners for settling the line of partition between this, and the Colony of New Jersey, the Surveyor General, and Officers of the Customs, the Attorney General, and Gentlemen of the Law, the Faculty of King's College, and the principal Inhabitants of the city, the Artillery brought up the Rear.—From the moment he expired, all the Colours in the Harbour were half-hoisted, all the Bells tolled a great part of the day, Minute Guns were fired during the procession from the Fort to the Church, which was illuminated, the Military Honors were paid with a *striking solemnity*, and every mark of respect shewn, which the rank and station of the deceased required, and which became an AFFLICTED GRATEFUL and AFFECTIONATE People."

The first part of the Procession was as follows :

I.

"The 16 Regiment with their Arms Reversed.

II.

Twenty Boys belonging to the Charity-School.

III.

Twenty of said Boys with lighted Flambeaux.

IV.

The Clergy of all Perswasions.

V.

THE BODY.

Supporters of the Pall,	Mr. D Lancey,	Mr. Watts,	Supporters of the Pall,
	Mr. Reade,	Mr. Apthorp,	
	Mr. Cruger,	Mr. Smith, Senior,	
	Mr. Speaker of the Assem.,	Mr. White,	

About a month after this time indications appear of great anxiety about the financial situation of the parish ; and, in consequence, a proposition was made to reduce expenses by diminishing the number of the staff of clergy. Mr. Provoost, as the last appointed, was to be dismissed, "on account of the insufficiency of the Corporation funds." It was, however, decided to retain him, but to depend on a subscription for his salary.¹

The plan did not prove successful. The Records of May 27, 1771, state that, the effort to provide for Mr. Provoost having failed, he gave notice of his intention to leave the parish, and requested that the Vestry would pay him the arrears of two years' salary. The matter is of interest, because it shows that the retirement of Mr. Provoost was not the result of dissatisfaction with his political opinions, but of the financial difficulties in which the Board was becoming more and more involved.

Mention has already been made of the offer of certain tracts of land to Dr. Auchmuty by Sir Henry Moore for church uses. Under date of January 11, 1770, we come

¹ Records i., 345.

upon this subject again. There were two tracts of land, the one to be granted to the Corporation of Trinity, the other to the Corporation of King's College. Unfortunately these lands lay in the disputed territory called Gloucester County, which was afterwards conveyed to Vermont, in consequence of which transfer both the church and college failed to secure the benefit of the grant. The relations of New York and Vermont were very unsatisfactory at this period, and continued so for many years, the difficulties ending only with the admission of Vermont to the American Union.¹

On the 9th of December, 1769, the Earl of Hillsborough informed Lieutenant-Governor Colden that John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, had received the royal appointment as governor of New York. Lord Dunmore's administration commenced in October, 1770, and continued until July 9th following. On the Sunday after his arrival the governor proceeded to Trinity Church attended by his staff, the mayor and Council, the clergy, and others. The *Journal* says :

"On Thursday Morning last his Excellency the Right Honourable the EARL of DUNMORE, our Governor, arrived at Sandy Hook in his Majesty's Ship, the Tweed. . . . On the Sunday following, his Excellency was attended by Sir William Draper, Lord Drummond, the Mayor, Recorder, and the City Corporation, the Gentlemen of his Majesty's Council, the City Members, the Judges of the Supreme Court, the Episcopal Clergy, the Church Wardens and Vestry Men of Trinity Church, the Attorney General and a great Number of the most respectable Gentlemen of the City, from the Council Chamber in Fort George to the Old English Church, where an excellent and well adapted Sermon was preached, by the Rev. Doctor AUCHMUTY, to a very crowded and most respectable audience." "

¹ Records, i., 349. See also the Venerable Society's connection with the subject in, *N. Y. Doct. Hist.*, vol. iv., 375. The literature of the Vermont controversy is very extensive.

² *The New-York Journal*, October 25, 1770.

An address to the new governor was prepared, according to custom, and duly sent to him in the course of the week.¹

About this time the degree of M. A. was conferred on the Rev. Mr. Inglis by the University of Oxford.

The Rev. Dr. Auchmuty writing to Sir William Johnson from New York, May 20, 1770, says :

"The Clergy are much indebted to you, worthy Sir, for your strong attachment to the present happy Establishment in Church and State, and for your animated Letters to the Ministry setting forth the necessity of an American Episcopate, and a proper notice and regard for the American Churches ; which, at present, are left destitute of Countenance and support. . . .

"I am ordered in the Name of our Convention, which met at my house, the last week, to thank you for the many good services you have honored us with ; and to assure you that we should esteem it as a most providential Event if your power to serve us was adequate to your inclination—happy should we be was this the case. I therefore Sir, as president of the Convention pro tempore return you our most sincere and grateful Thanks, for the exertion of your Interest, in favor of the Church of England in America, and for the many favors we have received from you, as clergymen. . . . We most ardently wish you every Temporal & Spiritual Blessings, & beg leave to assure you that we retain a grateful sense of the honor you have done us, in becoming our Friend & Patron. This will be delivered to you by my worthy brothers Cooper and Inglis. The latter travels for health, the former because he has too much. I almost envy them their happiness."

Speaking of the state of affairs at home he says :

"Our great men, instead of being careful pilots, and anxious for the safety of the Nation, are enveloped in false politic's, rack their

¹ Similar addresses were made to Governor Tryon, July 12, 1771, on his arrival (*The New-York Gazette*, July 15, 1771), and to the same functionary, by a convention of the clergy of New York and New Jersey, May 25, 1772. (*The New-York Journal*, May 28, 1772) ; to General Gage, on his departure for London, June 8, 1773 (*The New-York Journal*, June 17, 1773) ; and to Governor Tryon, on his departure, March 28, 1774 (*Rivington's New York Gazetteer*, March 31, 1774) ; also to Lord Howe and General Howe, March 3, 1777 (*The New-York Gazette*, March 3, 1777).

² *The New-York Journal*, Sept. 27, 1770.

invention, & exert their utmost abilities to aggrandize themselves, and their families, and suffer, for want of true principles their Sovereign and their Country to be tossed to and fro with every wind of popular discontent, without guiding the Helm with prudence, caution, and *Resolution*. The Lords Temporal are wholly engrossed in a system of Politic, which must end, if persevered in, in the ruin of themselves, and their Country ; and the Lords Spiritual, while they can unmolested enjoy their opulence, & weight in the Government, pay too little attention to the distresses and injustice that the members of the best church in the world labour under, in America.”¹

Truly an acute and intelligent criticism on that dark period in our Church history !

We have Sir William Johnson's reply :

“ JOHNSON HALL, May 27th, 1770.

“ SIR,

“ I thank you most kindly for your letter of the 20th by our Friends D^r Cooper & M^r Inglis whom I very highly Esteem and in whose Society I have spent many agreeable hours during which we have Conversed much on the affairs of the Church, Their speedy return prevents me from Saying much to you by this opportunity. I cannot however avoid agreeing with you in the truth of your Remarks on the present unhappy state of affairs, which greatly contribute to check the growth & prevent the Success of the National Church, I hope the Government will at last discover the Importance of giving it all possible Countenance, & that whenever party shall so far Subside as to enable them to act without the apprehension of giving offence to others its Enemies, that they will afford it the required support.

“ I most kindly thank the Convention for the favorable sentiments they entertained of my endeavors in the Cause of our religion, and I assure you & them that I shall omit no opportunity for demonstrating the sincerity of my attachm^t thereto, by promoting its Interest as far as my little Interest & abilities shall Enable me, at the same time wishing that we may speedily hear more agreeable news from England & you that I am always with Great Truth Sir &c.”²

It is well known how strong was the opposition to the Church, on the part of the dissenting and latitudinarian politicians of that day, and how impossible it was for her

¹ *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, iv., 266.

² *Ibid.*, 267.

to obtain justice. To this state of things allusion is made in letters from Sir William Johnson to the Rev. Charles Inglis and Dr. Auchmuty. Writing to the former under date of March 27, 1771, he says :

“ I have great Reason to apprehend that the Generality of the men of Rank are but Cool in matters of Religion, otherwise I should think that a plan of that sort would come with great Weight & strict propriety from His Grace of Canterbury, or the Bishop of London in their Ecclesiastick Capacity, and I am really concerned at reading that part where you say That similar applications from the Society first, have been frequently postponed, and neglected because it is a proof that my apprehensions are but too well founded otherwise I cannot see why a Religious Society in which are some of the Greatest Men in England should not meet With all Imaginable Countenance on any Religious Subject, where the Object appeared so meritorious, whilst every species of Dissenters finds favor, and Support on the application of the meanest Engines that can be found out—This extraordinary lukewarmness in matters of this nature, may I believe in some measure be attributed to the peculiar cast of Modern politicks, It being first forged by the Dissenters, & then echoed by every Scribbler, as now to be too generally believed, That the Missionaries busy themselves mostly in converting worthy & pious Dissenters, and that these pious people will be alarmed.

“ I remember to have read of a king of France, forbidding a neighbouring state to build a single Galley as his fleet was sufficient to scour their seas, and I am certain the conduct of the Dissenters greatly resembles that of the Monarch, but that their power is as yet less than his. For those of consequence amst them, tho' many of them are Libertines in their sentiments, yet all of them are strongly interested in whatever regards their profession, and in this Country they foresee that if the Established Church is encouraged, its Comeliness may, with^t much Efforts of our Missionaries draw many of their people to it as well as regain sev^l of its old Members who for want of any other places of Worship in some parts have become Dissenters, But as pride & policy forbid their discovering the True Causes, they affect apprehensions that our Church may pursue unwarrantable measures to acquire a Dominion over their tender Consciences and In America presume even to take offence at any additional Establishment in our favr. That Their party is not to be disobliged at all in England seems to be a maxim amongst the Great, which is a plain Confession of the strength of their Union, Whilst from

this Country they endeavor to persuade men in power of the general prevalence of their opinions, and the great Dread of a people Jealous of their Rights who fled from Religious persecution. Tho' in truth they can boast of no superiority, if the members of the Church, The Foreign Protestants, Quakers, &c., are taken together as they may be for these hav^e no design agt us, Do not in fact Joyn them in opinion, or entertain any apprehensions so Injurious to the Chh of England, so that as I formerly observed this artfull false representation should be enlarged on at home, and Eradicated, for untill that is done I do not see much prospect of encouragement, and I believe the great are so much afraid of the imputation of being priest ridden, that they dare not give the Church that Countenance or the injoyment of all its rites and Ceremonies, which is so highly necessary & reasonable in a Land of Liberty, according to the Dissenters own arguments, if the members of our Church are allowed to have any Conscience at all." ¹

The following from a letter to the Rev. Dr. Auchmuty, April 4, 1771, is to the same effect :

"I cannot but think with you that there is a Want of becoming zeal amongst many whose duty it is to promote the Interests of the Church, and to procure its members the full Enjoyment of all their rites & Ceremonies, to which they have surely an undoubted title. If other denominations find free indulgence, But as the neglects of Superiors in Church & State must be ascribed to the artifices of those who persuade Men in Europe that its Members here are few & Inconsiderable, Such Notions must I believe be eradicated before much assistance can be expected. . . . The prospect which is at present afforded in this increasing country is so great that, I hope when Men in power are more disengaged from Domestic Concerns, they may turn their Eyes to America, and without any attempts on the Consciences of other Men, endeavor to strengthen the National Church." ²

Thus, through the jealousy of Dissenters ³ and the lukewarmness and cowardice of Churchmen unworthy of their name, God's faithful priests and people in this land were

¹ *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, iv., 276.

² *Ibid.*, 278.

³ In a letter of March 8, 1774, to the Rev. Dr. Hind, who was Secretary to the S. P. G., Sir William Johnson speaks of "the Sly Artifices as well as public attacks practiced" by the Independents and other Dissenters against the Church of England in America. *Ibid.* 310.

kept under the ban, and allowed to suffer and protest unheeded against the grossest injustice on the part of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities at home.

Dr. Auchmuty, writing to Sir William Johnson from New York, June 11, 1771, says in reference to letters from the Secretary of the S. P. G. and the Bishop of London refusing further grants on the plea of the low ebb of the finances of the society:

"These Letters effectually stop all future application for new missions, which must greatly retard the Growth of the Church in America."¹

On the subject of the American Episcopate he adds :

"Before I conclude, I must just observe to you that his Lordship of London & Dr. Burton are both silent with regard to an American Bishop ; and indeed, such are the confusions at Home and Religion so little adverted to, that I see no prospect as yet of succeeding ; unless, the late applications of the Maryland clergy, backed by their Brethren of Virginia, which I have reason to think is now about taking place, should demand a little attention and convince the ministry that the American clergy are determined to pursue such steps as Conscience and loyalty suggest, till they succeed in what they have as Christians and dutiful Subjects an undoubted right to petition for. The Bishop of London informs me, that his Grace of Canterbury & himself in a very particular manner recommended to my Lord Dunmore 'the protection of the Church and Clergy in the province of New York.' You will doubtless conclude that he has taken *great notice* of the recommendation."²

In reply Sir William writes on July 4, 1771 :

"I am inclined to hope that the Application you mention of the Maryland & Virginia Clergy, being an additional proof of the General Wishes of the American Clergy, will Merit some attention. I look upon that Establishment to be a Grand & Important object, including in it almost everything else that we should never lose sight of, and I am persuaded that perseverance will at last obtain it.

"I am sorry the recommendⁿ of his Grace of Canterbury, & the

¹ *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, iv., 281.

² *Ibid.* 281.

Bishop of London, has met with so little notice from a certain quarter, which I understand to be the case from the close of your Letter, perhaps it is owing to his being of different Religious Sentiments, or to a total Indifference in these matters." ¹

In the month of October, 1767, at a meeting of clergy held at Elizabethtown, a plan was considered for the foundation of a society for the relief of the widows and children of clergymen of the Church of England. Subsequently, at Perth Amboy, May 12, 1768, Drs. Auchmuty, Smith, and Cooper, and the Rev. Mr. Cooke, of Monmouth, met and agreed on a plan providing for charters in three provinces. The Pennsylvania Charter was signed February 7, 1770, and that for New York was given by Colden, September 29th. A few days later Dr. Auchmuty preached the first sermon on behalf of the new corporation. He shows that the incomes of the clergy were wholly inadequate to enable them to make any provision for those dependent ones whom they might leave behind. To excite the compassion of his hearers the preacher, in imagination, took the congregation to view the desolate home which the clergyman left behind him, exclaiming in his special application of the subject to woman :

"Ye Daughters of *Israel*—Ye fond and indulgent Mothers, behold the distress to which your Sex is liable, and the Wants and Misfortunes of Innocent Children."

The subject seems to have attracted much attention. The sermon was printed and referred to in the public papers, as follows :

"Yesterday, for the benefit of that benevolent and necessary institution, The Corporation for the relief of the widows and children of clergymen in

the communion of the Church of England in America, at *Trinity Church in this City, before a numerous audience, consisting of most of the principal inhabitants, &c. and at which about twenty eight clergymen of the church of England of this and the neighboring colonies attended, an excellent sermon on these words, The 4th chapter of the 2d Book of Kings, verse the 1st.* 'Now there cried a certain woman of the wives of the sons of the prophets unto Elisha, saying, thy servant my husband is dead, and thou knowest that thy servant did fear the Lord, and the creditor is come to take unto him my two sons to be bondmen,' was preached by the Rev. Dr. Auchmuty, Rector of the church. Several pieces of church musick, before the sermon, and after it part of the celebrated Mr. Handel's Oratorio of the Messiah were performed by a considerable number of male and female voices, accompanied with the organ, very much to the general satisfaction of the audience. A considerable sum was collected for the benefit of the charity."—*The New-York Journal*, October 4, 1770.¹

Before the sermon the following officers were elected ; President, the Rev. Richard Peters ; Treasurers : for New York, Jacob Le Roy ; New Jersey, Dr. Chandler ; and for Pennsylvania, Francis Hopkinson. The collections up to that time had amounted to "1069 $\frac{2}{3}$ " dollars.²

¹A

SERMON

preached before the

CORPORATION FOR THE RELIEF OF

THE WIDOWS AND CHILDREN OF

Clergymen, in the Communion of the

Church of England in America

AT THEIR

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

In *Trinity Church*, NEW-YORK

on TUESDAY, October the 2d, 1770

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF

THE CHARITABLE CORPORATION

WITH

AN ABSTRACT of their PROCEEDINGS, &c &c

By Samuel Auchmuty, DD.

Rector of Trinity Church ; and Chaplain to the

RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM EARL OF *Stirling*

Published for the Benefit of the Fund

NEW-YORK

Printed by H. GAINE, in HANOVER-SQUARE

M, DCCC. LXXI.

² See on the Society, Smith's *Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith*, D.D., 423-4.

There is evidence at this time of growing interest in the subject of Church music as is shewn by the following advertisement :

“PROPOSALS
For publishing (by SUBSCRIPTION)
Two SELECT PIECES of
CHURCH MUSIC

“1st. AN HYMN, (by way of an ANTHEM) consisting of Solos, Duets, one Trio, and 4 Chorusses ; together with a PSALM Tune adapted for any charitable Church Collection, and first design'd for the Benefit of the FREE SCHOOL belonging to TRINITY CHURCH, in New-York, to be performed in the Churches at the annual Collection ; the School being chiefly supported by *Charity* ; the Words of the Hymn, by a Gentleman of King's College.

“2. A Performance adapted for a FUNERAL, consisting of three Dirges, (or Chorusses) the Words, Part of the Burial Service ; Together with an Anthem, and a Psalm Tune suitable on the Solemnity of a Funeral or Interment of any person of Note, &c. The whole never yet perform'd, being very lately set to MUSIC by WILLIAM TUCKEY, for some Years a Professor of the Theory and Practice of VOCAL MUSIC, Vicar Choral of the Cathedral Church of Bristol, and Clerk of the Parish of St. Mary Port in said City, now Resident in New York.

“The Subscriber to pay Two Shillings at the time of subscribing, and Two Shillings more on the Delivery of the Work (New-York-Currency) which is to be neatly engrav'd on Copper Plates, and worked off on the best Paper : And when ready to be deliver'd, Notice will be inserted in the New-York, Philadelphia, and Boston Papers ; The Subscribers to be at the Expence of sending their Subscriptions, and for their Books to New-York, either to Hugh Gaine, Printer, or the Proprietor, William Tuckey.

“N. B. No more will be work'd off than what are subscribed for, so that none will be sold by any Bookseller but those who subscribe, who will be entitled to the usual Discount.”¹

The commencement exercises of King's College were held in Trinity Church, May 23, 1771, the Earl of Dunmore, General Gage, and the Council being present, forming a noticeable part of a brilliant assembly. The

¹ *The New-York Journal*, March 28, 1771.

programme was an interesting one. Benjamin Onderdonk, who died the next year, had an English oration on "The Effects of the Passions," and young Gouverneur Morris had an oration on "Love." Young Benjamin Moore subsequently was among the graduates, and gave the valedictory on "The Fatal Effects of Misguided Ambition." The editor of the *New-York Gazette* closes his account of the exercises in a somewhat sarcastic manner.¹ Nevertheless the graduates went off in high spirits. Degrees were conferred as follows :

B. A. John Copp, Clement Cooke Clarke, Henry De Wint, Thomas Knox, John Searle, Ichabod Best Barnet.

M. B. Benjamin Onderdonk, Michael Sebring.

M. A. Gouverneur Morris, James Ludlow, Charles Doughty, Benjamin Moore, John Stevens, and Caleb Cooper.

M. D. Samuel Kissam.

The degree of *M. A.* was likewise conferred on the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, rector of Annapolis, in Maryland. After which the company dined together in the College Hall.

¹ He quotes from a correspondent who speaking of the comments made in the audience gives a sample : " *That* is a very learned young Gentleman,—a very learned young Gentleman indeed : And after he had seen a little more of the World, and has been kicked down Stairs two or three Times for his Impertinence,—he will be much the better for it." *The New-York Gazette*, May 27, 1771.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE RECTORSHIP OF DR. AUCHMUTY, CONTINUED.

Sir William Tryon, Governor—View of the Policy of the Home Government towards the Gentry and the Church in the Provinces—Founding of the New York Hospital—Clergy Present an Address to Governor Tryon—Death of George Harison—Marriage of the Rev. Mr. Inglis—Address to General Gage—Marriage of Stephen De Lancey and Miss Barclay—Death of Mrs. Mary Goelet—Anneke Jans Heirs—Robert Leake—Schismatical Attempt to Organize a New Congregation—Bogardus Claimants—Lieut. Gov. Colden—Death of Dr. Ogilvie—Rev. Benjamin Moore and Rev. John Bowden Elected—Rev. John Vardill.

IN the year 1771, Lord Dunmore was transferred to Virginia, and Sir William Tryon, Baronet, took his place at New York. For three years thereafter, there was a show of peace outside, with no end of trouble fermenting within. It was but the lull before the tempest; men knew it, and their hearts were already failing them for fear, and for looking on those things that were coming on the earth. The churches had rest, however; the governor made handsome gifts to St. George's Chapel, as we have already seen; and the pious and scholarly Auchmuty, with his assistants, the gentle Moore, the sensitive Bowden, and the stanch Inglis, were doing their work, thoughtfully and anxiously, and praying for peace. The record of those days is weird enough; royal governors flitting to and fro, now arriving and anon disappearing; citizens and soldiers brawling in the streets; tea riots adding an aromatic flavor to the highly charged atmosphere; assemblies obsequious to the executive; and weather-casts throughout the sky, showing the deep-fermenting tempest brewing in the air.

Dr. Auchmuty, writing to Sir William Johnson, May 20, 1770, affords, as we have already seen, a glimpse of the condition of things, where he says :

"Our great men, instead of being careful pilots, and anxious for the safety of the Nation, are enveloped in false politic's—rack their invention, & exert their utmost abilities to aggrandize themselves, and their Families, and suffer for want of true principles, their Sovereign and their Country to be tossed to and fro with every wind of popular discontent without guiding the Helm with prudence, caution, and Resolution. The Lords Temporal are wholly engrossed in a system of Politics, which must end if persevered in, in the ruin of themselves, and their Country ; and the Lords Spiritual while they can unmolested enjoy their opulence & weight in the Government, pay too little attention to the distresses and injustice that the best Church in the world labors under, in America. The True principles of a good Church man, are, a true regard to the Laws of his God, and a zealous attachment to his lawful Sovereign."¹

Referring to the observations of Mr. Auchmuty on the outlook in his day, I propose, at this point, to express some opinions, with which the reader may concur or not as it pleases him. There were, at the epoch which we have reached in the colonies, but particularly in the Province of New York, certain elements which the home government might have turned to better account in their efforts to maintain their supremacy in North America. If, for instance, the colonial aristocracy had been encouraged in their wish to remain loyal to the Crown, and if the Church had been permitted to complete her organization with the freedom accorded to every other religious body, the course of affairs might have been modified. But the home policy seemed to be, to cripple the Church, overlook and despise the landed gentry, and harass and provoke the common people ; and thus the way was paved

¹ *N. Y. Doc. Hist.* iv., 266. The documents in this volume, especially in relation to Sir William, who did so much for the Church, are worthy of careful study.

for changes not anticipated by any class in the community. As the social system, quaint customs, and genial manners of the Dutch had already given way before the march of English conquest, so now the colonial society, with its culture and refinement, high-bred tastes, aristocratic tone, loyalty, and conservatism, was destined to fade away.

It cannot be doubted that the gentry of the Province were opposed to separation from the mother country; their traditions, their instincts made them loyal; nor was it until after long discipline that they were induced to espouse the popular cause. In civilized states the men of education and culture, by force of intelligence, knowledge of the world's history, attainments, and personal interest in a stable government, form the main bulwark of the social system. To develop and maintain in their just position such a class of citizens is deemed by wise publicists the policy of the nation which would preserve its life intact and its honor unsullied. Such a class existed here before the Revolution; but the home government did not turn their good-will to account in the strife at which the world gazed expectant.

We are writing of events in the Province of New York. Its higher classes had peculiar characteristics, not elsewhere readily discerned.

In New England, where individual ownership in the soil was more general, men lived on small farms, which they tilled with patience, their minds working meanwhile on theories of independency, and their hearts hardened by Calvinistic theology. In New York, on the other hand, a different social influence prevailed, with wider views and a more gentle temper. Under the Dutch *régime*, men had become proprietors of vast landed estates. Their right to these was secured by the English law; and so there grew

up a class fitted to guide public opinion and furnish well-equipped leaders of affairs.¹

On their manors, gentlemen lived in dignity and elegance ; not with the vulgar show of *nouveaux riches*, nor with the reckless irresponsibility of those who have neither root in the past nor outlook on the future, but as to the manner born.² There were fine old houses in those days, with the family coat of arms above the entrance and good store of beautiful things within ; beneath those roofs successive generations were born and passed away.³ The

¹ " There was one remarkable feature in which our State differed from every other British-American dependency. A conquest from Holland, she became for twenty-one years a Proprietary Dukedom, and then, for nearly a century, she remained a Royal Province. Without a charter, like those of Maryland and Pennsylvania, New York resembled none of the New England colonies, except, perhaps, New Hampshire. It was not until after the accession of the Dutch Stadtholder to the English throne that she permanently obtained the privilege of an Assembly elected by her freeholders. Even then, her Governor and her Counsellors were appointed directly by the King. This circumstance, in connection with others peculiar to her original colonization, fastened upon New York a distinctive quality of social aristocracy, which survived the period of her independence. It was perhaps owing to these causes that so few comparatively of her Puritan neighbors came to add to her colonial population." *Oration on the Conquest of New Netherland*, delivered before the New York Historical Society, October 12, 1864, by John Romeyn Brodhead, p. 51.

² " Hereditary landed property was in that day invested with the same dignity in New York which it has now in Europe ; and for more than a century these families retained their possessions and directed the infant colony. They formed a *coterie* of their own, and generation after generation married among themselves. Turn to the early records of New York, and you will find all places of official dignity filled by a certain set of familiar names, many of which, since the Revolution, have entirely disappeared. . . . Their position was an acknowledged one, for social distinctions were then marked and undisputed. They were the persons who were placed in office in the Provincial Council and Legislature, and no one pretended to think it strange."—" New York Society in the Olden Time," by Bishop Kip in *Putnam's Magazine*, September, 1870, p. 243.

³ " About many of their old country-houses were associations gathered, often coming down from the first settlements of the country, giving them an interest which can never invest the new residences of those whom later times elevated through wealth. Such was the Van Courtlandt manor-house, with its wainscoted rooms and its guest-chamber ; the Van Rensselaer manor-house, where of old had been entertained Talleyrand and the exiled princes from Europe ; the Schuyler house, so near the Saratoga battlefield, and marked by memories of that glorious event in the life of its owner —[alas that it should have passed away from its founder's family!]—and the residence of the Livingstons, on the banks of the Hudson, of which Louis Philippe expressed such

dames and gentlemen who dwelt there would have moved with ease and dignity in foreign courts ; assured of their position ; not ashamed of their name and lineage ; nor unfamiliar with the usages of the most cultivated of their time. The very costume marked the difference of rank ; a difference of which the inferior did not complain, and of which the superior made no offensive or insolent display. Of such as these were the De Lanceys, Morrisises, Livingstons, Kips, Phillipses, Van Cortlandts, Van Rensselaers ; the Beekmans, Johnsons, and Stuyvesants. Of such as these was he, the splendid gentleman, who, from his Virginia home at Mount Vernon, went forth to head the forlorn armies of the Revolution, and returned to it, after many years of darkness and tribulation, with a halo of immortal lustre about his serene brows. Of such as these were many of the foremost leaders in the seven-years struggle, the pride and flower of the colonial aristocracy.

The destruction of the gentry gave tremendous impetus to the progress of the democratic avalanche ; among the victims were some who were forced into it by resentment, indignation, and despair. They saw that the home government cared nothing for them ; it appeared to have forgotten their existence ; it dealt with them in such wise that they turned against it ; they struck their blow, and struck it home, straight and true, but in doing so they gave, unexpectedly, the *coup-de-grace* to their own existence.

Nor was the colonial aristocracy alone in peril ; the Church also was threatened with destruction. It is difficult for us, at this day, to realize the intensity of the hatred of the Church of England by the Independents and

grateful recollection, when, after his elevation to the throne, he met, in Paris, the son of his former host." *Ibid.* This article has been reprinted in Stone's *Hist. of New York City*, Appendix, xvi.

those whom they were able to influence.¹ Religious and political prejudice and hostility went hand in hand; the Church of England was regarded as worse, if possible, than the Church of Rome; war on the Crown meant war on the Establishment as a matter of course. The clergy in New York were, almost to a man, loyal to the Crown; to them the line of duty seemed clear, and they followed it, regardless of consequences. We owe them the honor due to all who brave outrage, violence, persecution, and the peril of death, rather than commit what seems to them a wrong and a sin.

And so the landed gentry, for a long time, and the clergy of the Church of England were faithful to the "powers that be" as ordained of God, deeming it their duty not only to "fear God and love the brotherhood," but also to "honour the King." On the other side of the water these natural allies of the Government were practically forgotten. In vain, year after year, did Churchmen in America request the gift of the Episcopate by transmission from the ancient line²; refusal, cold and persistent,

¹ See on this point Peters's *Hist. of Connecticut*, 1781, recently reprinted by Appleton & Co., New York. Whatever may be thought of this curious work, there is no reason to doubt its correctness on this question. "The fanatics of Massachusetts-Bay hated every part of the Common Prayer-Book worse than the Council of Trent" (page 45). "The Church, however, increased, though oppressed by more persecutions and calamities than were ever experienced by puritans from bishops and pow wowers. Even the use of the Bible, the Lord's prayer, the litany, or any part of the prayer-book was forbidden; nay, ministers taught from their pulpits 'that the lovers of Zion had better put their ears to the mouth of hell and learn from the whispers of the devil, than read the bishops' books'" (page 165).

² "Had the bishops shown as much concern for the welfare of the Church of England in America as the Society have done, they would have prevented many reproaches being cast upon them by the Dissenters as hireling shepherds, and have secured the affections of the American clergy in every province to themselves, to the King, and the British Government. If the religion of the Church of England ought to have been tolerated and supported in America, (which, considering the lukewarmness of the bishops in general, even since the Restoration of Charles II., seems to have been a dubious point,) policy and justice long ago should have induced the King and Parliament of Great Britain to have sent bishops to America, that Churchmen at least

discouraged them, and equally gratified the Dissenters.¹ As for the gentry, no effort seems to have been made to attach them to the home government or knit their fortunes closer to the monarchy; in the whole history we find but two who received the honor of knighthood.² Meanwhile, nothing was left undone which could alienate the colonies. The rights of English subjects were ignored; they were talked to as if they were children, and threatened as if they dared not strike back; they were treated as mainly valuable for the revenues which could be extorted from them; brow-beaten by the civil, and insulted by the military, authorities. Even upon such of the provincial aristocracy as the sensitive De Lanceys, rough soldiers were billeted; and when remonstrance was made, the commanding officer met it with a jeer and a threat to send more, and worse. A judicial blindness had fallen on the managers of colonial affairs; if their intention had been to discourage and exasperate their best friends in America, and incite them to revolt, they could not have acted more directly to the point. All this must be taken into account in forming a just estimate of the loyal people and clergy in New York, under the severe trials to which they were subjected during the time of which we are now writing.

might have been upon an equal footing with Dissenters Of all the wonders of the English Church the greatest is that the rulers of it should hold episcopacy to be an institution of Christ, and that the Gospel should be spread among all nations, and, at the same time should refuse the American Churchman a bishop, If bishops are necessary, let America have them; if they are not necessary, let them be extirpated from the face of the earth; for no one can be an advocate for their existence merely for the support of pomp, pride, and insolence, either in England or America."—Peters's *Hist. of Connecticut*, 172.

¹ Dr. Chandler, in a letter dated Jan. 15, 1766, refers to an assertion that an American Episcopate would be utterly disagreeable to more than nineteen-twentieths of all the people in America. This he indignantly denies; but it is notable that the statement was current, and, no doubt, believed by many in England.

² Sir William Johnson received his title for his services in the French and Indian wars; Sir William Pepperell for his part in the capture of Louisburg.

To return from this digression, and resume the narrative of affairs in the parish and the city, which were then co-terminous: the year 1771 was memorable for the founding of the New York Hospital. The first meeting of the governors was held at Bolton's tavern, the "Delmonico" of the period, July 24th, John Watts, the last of the Royal Recorders, being in the chair. A charter already executed by John, Earl of Dunmore, was then read. The city contained at that time about 21,000 inhabitants. The administration of King's College had established a medical school, September 17, 1767, and to two of its professors, Dr. Samuel Bard and Dr. Jones, the hospital owes its origin. The Dutch had a hospital in 1658.¹

It appears likewise that, during the following January, the subject of a grant of land for the hospital was brought before the authorities of the parish.

"The Board taking into consideration the requisition of the Governors of the Hospital or Infirmary for two acres of ground on the north side of John Keating's Paper Mill. It is hereupon resolved that this Corporation will lease to said Governors two acres of ground for the term of ninety-nine years for the sole purpose of building a hospital at the annual rent of Twenty pounds."²

The terms were fixed later at fifteen pounds per annum. The managers of the hospital, however, eventually bought land near the Collect Pond, and established the institution at a position near Pearl Street and Broadway.

With the opening of this year, 1772, a very important matter came before the Vestry in the shape of a proposal for an addition to the number of the churches of the parish. The record runs thus:

"At a meeting of the Rector, Church Wardens and Vestrymen of Trinity Church, in the City of New York, on Tuesday, the 31st day of January, 1772.

¹ *Centenary Address Delivered before the Society of the New-York Hospital* by, James William Beekman, July 24, 1871.

² Records, i., 362.

"Present—The Rev. Dr. Samuel Auchmuty, Rector.

"Mr. Nathaniel Marston and Mr. Elias Desbrosses, Church Wardens.

"Messrs. Charles Williams, David Clarkson, Andrew Barclay, Theophilact Bache, Adrien Renaudet, John Griffith, Edward Laight, Anthony Van Dam, John Charlton, John T. Kemp, Miles Sherbrooke, Gabriel H. Ludlow, Vestrymen.

"A copy of an order of the Common Council of the City of New York, writing a report of a committee of that Corporation founded upon a petition of James DeLancey, Esqr., and others, praying a grant of a piece of land in the out ward of this city, in trust to this corporation, for the erecting and building a school house, church and parsonage house, and for the use of a burying ground, being produced and read, and the same being taken in consideration by this board, it was thereupon resolved and ordered that Mr. Kempe, Mr. Laight, and Mr. Bache be a committee to confer with the Common Council of the City of New York upon the subject of the said order, and to apply for a plan of the proposed building, and finally to agree with the said corporation upon the terms and conditions upon which this corporation will accept of the proposed trust.

"New York, 27th November, 1787. I do hereby certify the above written to be an extract from the minutes of the Corporation of Trinity Church, agreeing in every respect with the original entry.

"RICHARD HARISON,

"Clerk of the Vestry."

January 31st.

"A copy of an order of the Common Council of the city of New York reciting a Report of a Committee of that Corporation founded upon the petition of James De Lancey, Esq: and others praying a grant of a piece of Land in the Out Ward of this city in Trust to this corporation for the erecting and building a School house, Church and Parsonage House and for the use of a Burying Ground, being produced and read, the same being taken into consideration by this Board." It was thereupon Resolved and Ordered "that a Committee confer with the Council, apply for a plan of the proposed buildings and agree upon the terms & conditions of the proposed trust."¹

The clergy of New York and New Jersey assembled in convention, May 25th, and through their Secretary, the

¹ Records, i., 363.

Rev. Samuel Seabury, presented an address to Governor Tryon in which they say that

“Amongst the numerous religious denominations in this Province (with all which we are desirous of living upon the most friendly Terms) the Church of England, we presume, has an equal Claim with any others, to the Protection and Countenance of Government. Loyal to the King, and Submissive to the Laws, her Fidelity has never been impeached, nor worn a suspicious Appearance.”

The governor said in reply,

“My Endeavors to advance the established Church of the Mother Country will not leave you in Doubt of my Zeal and cordial Attachment to her interests ; the Representation of her Clergy in this Government and ourselves as under inviolable Obligations, to exert our utmost Influence, and ardently to pray, that your Administration may be as happy to yourself, as it is to the Province over which you preside.”

On the 18th of April in this year the parish lost a strong friend in the person of Mr. George Harison. Rivington says of him :

“On Sunday Evening last, departed this Life, after a short Illness GEORGE HARISON, Esq ; of this City ; a Gentleman of good natural Abilities and strict Probity. He was Son to the Honourable FRANCIS HARISON, Esq ; formerly one of his Majesty's Council for this Province, and descended from an Antient and respectable Family in Berkshire. In the various Relations of Husband, Parent, Brother, Friend and Master, he was Exemplary. By the honest Candour and unaffected Humanity of his disposition, the Rectitude of his Principles, and the Integrity of his Conduct (which was ever directed by Honour, Virtue and Religion) he had acquired the general Esteem and Regard of all who knew him. Sincere himself, he look'd with Contempt on all dissimulation in others ; and as his Attachments were warm, so his Resentments were free from Perfidy, for they were undisguised, tho' not implacable.

“The day after his decease the Colours of the several Vessels in the Harbour were hoisted at half mast ; and on Tuesday last, his Remains, attended by a great number of the principal inhabitants of the City, were interred in the Family Vault in Trinity Church Yard.”¹

¹ *Rivington's Gazetteer*, April 22, 1773.

Among those laid to rest at this period in the church-yard of Trinity was the granddaughter of the celebrated poet Colley Cibber.¹

On Monday evening, May 31, the Rev. Mr. Inglis and Miss Crooke were married by the Rev. Dr. Auchmuty. The bride was the daughter of John Crooke, Esq., of Ulster County, a lady of amiable disposition and ample fortune.

Persons interested in church music will read with pleasure the following announcement :

“READY for engraving, and to be published by subscription, the following select pieces, consisting of a compleat sett of Church service, viz. *A Te Deum laudamus ; Jubilate Deo ; Benedicite omnia opera Domini ; Cantate Domino ; and Deus misereatur ;* a burial service, and an anthem for any grand funeral ; a compleat and well adapted anthem to be sung at the time of any charitable contribution ; a grand chorus, Hosanna to the Son of David, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord, &c. proper to be sung at any meeting, or convention of the clergy, of any denomination ; as also an anthem 133d Psalm, for any grand meeting of Free and Accepted Masons : The whole to be published in Score, which will contain, according to the best calculation, sixty folio pages, to be engraved and worked off in the neatest manner, and on the best paper, the work will receive the greatest dispatch as soon as a sufficient number of subscribers offer, who are requested to be as speedy as possible to deliver in their names and places of abode. The price to Subscribers will be One Dollar and an half ; one half to be paid at the time of subscribing, and the other half on the delivery of the book. Subscriptions are taken in by Messieurs Rivington, Gain and Holt, printers in New-York ; Michael Hillegas, Esq. ; and J. Dunlap, printer in Philadelphia ; Mr. R. Draper, printer in Boston ; Mr. Southwick, in Rhode-Island ; Mess. Purdie & Dixon, print-

¹ On Thursday last died in the 43d year of her age, Mrs. CATHARINE MARIA HARMAN, granddaughter to the celebrated Colley Cibber, Esq., *poet laureat*, she was a just actress, possessed of much merit in low comedy and dressed all her characters with infinite propriety, but her figure prevented her from succeeding in tragedy, and in genteel comedy. In private life, she was sensible, humane and benevolent, her little fortunes she has left to Miss Cheer, and her obsequies were on Saturday night attended by a very genteel procession to the cemetery of the *Old English Church*. —*Rivington's Gazetteer*, June 3, 1773.

ers in Williamsburg, J. Hamilton, Esq ; for Baltimore and Charlestown, in Maryland, and Mr. Green, printer in Annapolis. All the subscription money is to be sent and deposited in the hands of Messieurs Rivington, Gain and Holt, or either of these Gentlemen, in New-York, who will take care that no money shall be paid to the compiler, till they have inspected the manuscript, and seen it despatched to the engraver ; and in case a sufficient number of subscribers should not offer they will return the subscription money they have received.

“*N. B.*—There never was any compleat set of church service made public, nor can any be procured but by friendship and a great expence ; neither is any burial service of the kind to be purchased, unless it be that in Dr. Croft’s anthems, which is sold for Two Guineas.”¹

Upon the departure of General Gage, the following address was presented to him :

To his EXCELLENCY the HONOURABLE
THOMAS GAGE,
Commander in Chief of his Majesty’s Forces in North
America.

“*May it please your Excellency.*

“THE Rector and Clergy, with the inhabitants of the City of New York in communion of the Church of England as by law established, beg leave to wait upon your Excellency, and to express the deep concern they feel at your departure from America.

“In your arduous important station your measures have been always directed by the most consummate prudence, unshaken fidelity to our gracious Sovereign, and a just regard to the peace and welfare of the colonies, whilst such conduct reflects the greatest honour on yourself, we doubt not but it will secure the approbation and smiles of the best of Princes.

“Your affable polite deportment—your easiness of access—your numerous acts of charity and generosity your exemplary behaviour in a religious view, during your residence in this city have greatly endeared you to us, and leave the strongest impressions of gratitude and esteem on our minds.

“From hence, Sir, you carry not only the good wishes, but the warmest affection of every good man, and loyal subject ; and be pleased to accept in particular our sincerest thanks for that countenance you

¹ *Rivington’s Gazetteer*, June 24, 1773.

have shewed to the respectable congregation which we have the honor to represent.

"Permit us to wish your Excellency, lady, and family an agreeable passage to your native country, and that you may be rewarded with honour, happiness, and every other blessing in this life, which is due to exalted merit ; and finally admitted to that unfading felicity which is the portion of the just.

"Signed by order of the Corporation,

"SAMUEL AUCHMUTY, *Rector*.

"8th June, 1773."

To which his Excellency made the following answer :

"*To the Reverend the Rector and Clergy, and the inhabitants of the City of New York, in Communion of the Church of England, as by Law established.*

"GENTLEMEN,

"I RETURN you my unfeigned Thanks for the very obliging Address you have been pleased to present to me, the Approbation you have thought proper to testify of my Conduct, and the concern you are pleased to express at my Departure from America, when I consider the very respectable Body they come from, cannot but be extremely flattering to me.

"Your expressions of good will towards me and my Family claim my warmest acknowledgements, which no time can obliterate the remembrance of, and I shall ever retain a lively Interest in all Matters that concern the welfare of the Church of England."

Among notices of the day occur the following :

"Last night, at the House of Mrs. Barclay, in this City, was celebrated a Marriage between Stephen Delancy, Esq. ; Son of the Hon. Col. Oliver Delancy, and Miss Barclay, eldest Daughter of the Rev. Doctor Barclay the late revered and beloved Rector of Trinity Church. This amiable Couple have the most rational Prospect of all the Happiness the marriage State can afford."¹

"Saturday Morning last departed this life in the 39th Year of her Age, Mrs. Mary Goellet, the amiable Consort of Mr. Peter Goellet of this City, Merchant and daughter of Mr. Henry Ludlow, of this Place ; a Lady whose death is universally lamented, and is an irreparable Loss to an inconsolable Husband and eight Children, the former having lost

the best of Wives, and the latter a Mother scarce to be equalled : Her remains were deposited in the Family Vault in Trinity Church Yard last Sunday afternoon.”¹

In turning over the records for this year, the eye is caught by entries relating to a particularly outrageous performance on the part of the so-called heirs of the famous Anneke Jans Bogardus. These people, it will be remembered, had tried without success to upset the title of the Church to the “farm,” as it was called ; the decisions were always in favor of the Church and against the claimants, as they have invariably been during the past two hundred years whenever the question has come before a court. Enraged at their failures, and, perhaps, influenced by the restless spirit which was in the air, they appear to have come to the decision to make an attempt to wrest from the Church *vi et armis* what they could not take under process of law. Accordingly, they concocted a scheme to take possession of a portion of the land in question. Reference to this is found in the Records, i., 377.

“Whereas, The Board is given to understand that Cornelius C. Bogardus, or some other person or persons, are now attempting to take wrongful possession of part of the land belonging to this Corporation. It is ordered that a power of attorney be given under the seal of this Corporation to some person or persons to oppose the said Cornelius C. Bogardus and to defend the possession of this Corporation and to remove the fence he shall have put thereon, if any such there be” (July 8, 1773).

The same day a party under orders from the Vestry proceeded to knock down and burn one of the fences which had been actually constructed to set off the land filched from the Corporation.²

The assault on the Church property was renewed in the month of September following, as the Records show ;

¹ *The New-York Journal*, July 1, 1773. ² *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1870, p. 355.

and again, on the 23d of that month, the attorney of the Church, duly armed with legal papers, tore down, broke up, and burnt other fences, producing asw arrant for the act the papers commissioning him to take those measures. All was done in legal form, and although these singular proceedings on the part of Bogardus continued some time longer, in the month of October he finally desisted, having, as he knew, no standing in law, and not daring to risk the consequences of resisting the Church authorities in the protection of their property and rights. The "heirs" would, in fact, have come within the provisions of the Riot Act had they interfered with the agents of the Church in their summary proceedings.¹ And so for some time there was peace.

The *Journal* of January 6, 1774, contains a notice of the decease of a prominent Churchman :

"Friday last died at his Seat in the Bowery, in the Out Ward of this City, in the 54th Year of his Age, ROBERT LEAKE, Esq ; Commissary General of North America.

"He was long a faithful servant to the Crown ; a loving Husband,—tender Parent,—one of the best of Masters, and a Friend to all Tradesmen.

"His Remains were interred in the Family Vault, in Trinity Church Yard, last Sunday Evening, attended by a great Concourse of the Inhabitants of this place and the Military." "

The new year 1774 was opened in Trinity parish with an appeal at each of the several places of worship in behalf of "the distressed Highlanders lately arrived at this Port, in the Brig Nancy from Scotland." Even the editor of the *Journal* broke out in the language of Scripture, declaring, "Blessed be the Man that provideth for the

¹ See Records, September 17, 23, October 2, 1773, and *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Collections*, 1870, p. 354.

" *The New-York Journal*, Jan. 6, 1774.

Sick and Needy." The times were indeed hard, yet a hundred and twenty pounds were raised in aid of the distressed immigrants.¹

In this year we come on a notice of an attempt to organize a congregation of the Church of England without reference to the parish. As little is known of the beginning of this schismatical business as of its ending. A number of people gathered together in a room in Horse and Cart Street, now William Street, and decided on a lottery to raise money for the purchase of a site and the erection of a church. It does not appear that the lottery was ever drawn, and the congregation presently vanished. It consisted probably of dissentient members of the parish church or of St. George's Chapel, who desired to obliterate the distinction between the Establishment and the Nonconformists, and may have been imbued with the revolutionary spirit of the times, which was now growing rapidly day by day.

¹ "The minds of the inhabitants were never known to be more tenderly affected than by the case of the unfortunate people lately landed here from the brigantine Nancy, Capt. Smith, from the Highlands of Scotland. When they embarked, their numbers were about 280; their allowance was to have been one pound of meal each day, and half a pound of beef each week: But, strange to relate, the whole store of beef amounted only to six barrels for the voyage, in which sixteen weeks were expended. During the whole passage their principal sustenance was pea meal, mixed with beer meal; for they were denied their favourite aliment (oatmeal) and there was a stock of it on board. Their water was put into foul wine casks, which turned it sour, and occasioned a violent dysentery; About eighty of their number died of this disease; and, incredible to say it, there was sixpence sterling exacted from the living for the liberty of lifting each lifeless corpse over the side, and depositing it in a watery grave. In short, there appear circumstances uncommonly savage and brutal in the treatment of these wretched passengers. The contractors in Scotland are very highly censured; but their miserable manner of victualling the vessel could hardly be accompanied with orders to treat the poor folks with cruelty and insupportable insolence, which they loudly complain of.

"When their forlorn condition was communicated to the Rev. Dr. Auchmuty, Rector of Trinity, and to the other Clergy of the Church of England; they, last Sunday, very pathetically recommended it to their three several congregations, from whose cordial beneficence resulted contributions amounting to upwards of 120*l*."—*Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, Jan. 13, 1774.

Governor Tryon wrote to the Earl of Dartmouth, from New York, April 7, 1774 :

"In Obedience to the King's Command to repair to England, I shall embark this Day with my Family on board the Mercury Packet. I have delivered to Lieut^t. Governor Colden the Great Seal of the Province, with such Publick Papers as remained in my Hands that were necessary for his Conduct." ¹

He left with many demonstrations of regard : the Assembly voted him £5000 in consideration of his losses when his house was burned ; a public dinner was given to him by some gentlemen of the town, and a ball by the general commanding the forces. Addresses were presented him by divers corporations and societies, and King's College bestowed on him the honorary degree of D.C.L. In reply to the address of the Vestry, Tryon said, among other things :

"The influence of such religious principles as distinguish and adorn the established church must ever be productive of the highest advantages to the community—accept therefore, Gentlemen, my most sincere wishes that the Church of England as by law established may continue permanent and flourishing to the end of time." ²

With the year 1774 came action, decisive and unmasked. Following an example set by other colonies, New York formed a Provincial Congress,³ and further proceeded to appoint delegates to the Continental Congress which had already met in Philadelphia. The Revolution was coming now, *à pas de charge*. The Continental Congress ordered the province of New York to contribute a quota of men for the general defence, whatever that ominous expression might mean ; while Governor Tryon, thoroughly alarmed

¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, viii., 417.

² *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, March 31, 1774.

³ The Rev. Samuel Provoost, ex-assistant minister of Trinity Church and subsequently rector and first bishop of the diocese of New York, was sought out in his retirement at East Camp, and requested to serve as a delegate, but he declined.

at last, sailed for England to report the state of affairs. In his absence the Provincial Congress assumed his powers, though claiming to be still loyal to the crown.

We come again upon the restless Bogardus claimants. Ignoring the fact that the civil court had long before settled the whole question, they proposed, with an air of sincerity, to refer the trouble to the Governor, or to the Governor with certain persons whom they suggested as advisers. This proposition to reopen the case was, of course, declined, there being no just ground for such a procedure. It is true that the claimants stated that all of those whom they suggested as advisers to the Governor were, with one exception, members of the Church of England ; but it is sufficiently clear that they suggested this plan knowing that it could not be entertained by the Corporation, or the Governor, or, indeed, by any real member of the Church. What they wished was to gain an opportunity for saying in their "Remonstrance" that the Corporation was

"conscious that even the members of their own Church, who were warmly attached to their interest, could not, when acting upon principles of honour, or even of common honesty, decide the matter in favour of the Church."¹

The Annual Convention was held this year, in Trinity Church, and the Commencement exercises of the college were held in the same building.² The practice of holding

¹ *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1870, pp. 359 to 365.

² "On Wednesday the CONVENTION of the EPISCOPAL CLERGY of this Province and New Jersey, Divine Service in TRINITY CHURCH at 11."—*The New-York Gazette*, May 16, 1774.

"On Tuesday last our Annual Commencement was held in Trinity Church.

"The Celebrity was honoured by the presence of his Excellency GENERAL HALDIMAND, the principal officers of the army, the Clergy, and a very brilliant assembly. . . .

"And on Wednesday was held the Annual Convention of the Clergy ; before whom an excellent Sermon was preached by the Rev. William Cutton."—*Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, May 19, 1774.

the college Commencement in our churches continued till the time of Bishop Hobart, when it was stopped, as unbecoming the sanctity of a consecrated building ; for scenes of a confused, and sometimes disorderly, character often occurred on those occasions. The college was slowly growing in favor, though no great progress was now being made with reference to church extension, the Church far and wide being disturbed by political events, while the greater portion of the clergy, through their devotion to the crown, were fast becoming unpopular.

Lieut.-Governor Colden did his best to stem the incoming tide of republican principles ; he was a well-meaning man, but a strong loyalist. Writing to Tryon, Aug. 22, 1774, he asks that the draft of a royal charter drawn by the Governors of King's College might have his favorable consideration, and says that the Dissenters

"have the sole education, not only in all the Seminaries of Learning in the New England Colonies, but likewise in New Jersey and other Colonies. It therefore seems highly requisite that a Seminary on the principles of the Church of England be distinguished in America by particular Priviledges."¹

The year 1774 as it passed away cast a dark shadow upon the parish, which was called to mourn the loss of the Rev. Dr. Ogilvie. On the 18th of November he went to church apparently in his usual health to give the ordinary Friday lecture. After reading prayers and baptizing a child he announced his text : "To shew that the Lord is upright ; he is my rock, and there is no unrighteousness in him" (Ps. xcii., 15). Before he could proceed further he sunk under a stroke of apoplexy, and was conveyed from the church, the people being overwhelmed with sorrow and alarm. He recovered sufficiently to give directions about his temporal affairs, but on Saturday morning, November

¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, viii., 486.

26th, he died without a struggle and without pain. His loss was mourned by the entire community.

It is said of him that

“He was tall and graceful; and had a dignity in his aspect which commanded respect, whilst his affability gained the affection of those he conversed with. He had an excellent voice; his elocution was free and easy, his imagination lively, his memory retentive, and his judgment solid. With such qualifications he could not fail of being a popular, admired preacher.

“Piety to God is the foundation of all other virtues; and this he possessed in a high degree. He felt the power of religion, which gave a tincture to, and animated his whole conduct. He was a most exemplary and laborious Clergyman. Indefatigable in visiting the sick, and other members of his flock: he was as useful to them by his private advice and admonitions, as by his public ministrations, and accordingly was respected by them as a common Father.—His bosom glowed with that warm benevolence, which genuine Christianity inspires, and this naturally led him to take part in the distresses of others. He was very liberal to the poor; and the children of affliction in general, who resorted to him, and whom he often sought for, ever found relief from him; nor did he at any time seem to be so happy as when employed thus in offices of humanity, and doing good to others. He always maintained a friendly intercourse with people of every religious denomination, lived in perfect harmony with them, and on all occasions manifested himself a sincere lover of peace.”¹

“An ELEGY on the DEATH of the Reverend

JOHN OGILVIE, D. D.,

Who departed this Life the 26th of November. 1774.

By a YOUNG GENTLEMAN of this CITY.

SAY, weeping muse, what means that passing bell?
 What breathless coarse demands the solemn knell?
 What soul departed moves in sad parade
 To death's cold mansions and the gloomy shade?
 But ah! methinks, the fatal news is spread.
 And Fame proclaims, that OGILVIE is dead:
 The pious OGILVIE! is he no more?

¹ *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, Dec. 1, 1774.

Then Zion mourn, thy heavy loss deplore ;
 In solemn grief command thy tears to flow,
 And bid each bosom swell with anxious woe ;
 Let all thy courts in sable robes be hung.
 And fun'ral dirges sound from ev'ry tongue :
 Thy faithful pastor from thy bosom torn,
 His charge to keep, shall never more return.
 (Yet could our grief, or floods of tears, O ! death,
 Restore him spirit, and vital breath,
 That frame inanimate again should live,
 And thou, thy victim, to existence give ;
 But vain is grief when life 's extinct and fled,
 The sluggish mass returns not from the dead.
 Nor sorrow, grief, or mourning, can retrieve
 The clay cold victim from the op'ning grave.)
 Speak ye, his fav'rite once peculiar care,
 How vast his worth, how great his virtues were !
 Say with what grace his heav'nly accents flow'd,
 How much he lov'd, how much rever'd his God !
 What strong conviction to his precepts join'd,
 Alarm'd each thoughtless, each unthinking mind ;
 Whilst harden'd sinners trembled as they sate ;
 To hear him preach, how awful was their state ;
 Their past offenses in contrition mourn'd,
 And sorrowing, sought the God they once had scorn'd ;
 This happy Saint was here thy great employ,
 To serve thy God, thy soul, thy only joy :
 But time and sense are now with thee no more,
 Past are thy labours and thy cares are o'er.
 Thy soul enlarg'd mounts the celestial road,
 And Seraphs safe conduct thee to thy God.
 Myriads of Angels thy arrival wait,
 And hail thy entrance in Jerus'lem's gate ;
 Whilst Heav'n's high arch with shouts of triumph rings
 And loud Hosanna's to the King of Kings.
 There full fruition is thy just reward,
 And thou art happy in thy Saviour Lord.
 With saints made perfect, thou thy song shall raise
 And spend a whole eternity in praise.

December the 26th, 1774."¹

¹ *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, January 5, 1775.

The death of Dr. Ogilvie occurred at a time when political excitement was on the increase, but this, however, did not prevent the people from taking a personal interest in Dr. Ogilvie's "extraordinary likeness." In fact two persons were striving to win approval in this particular connection, one party promising to send to England and have the engraving superintended by the celebrated Benjamin West. Anthony Lamb, however, announced that he had an engraving in hand which would be finished in a few weeks, and asked the public to encourage American art.¹

Dr. Ogilvie by his will bequeathed considerable sums in aid of charitable work.²

Upon the death of Dr. Ogilvie two persons were named as suitable for election to his place: the Rev. Benjamin Moore and the Rev. John Bowden. On the first Sunday in December the young Benjamin Moore, who had graduated in May, 1771, appeared in the pulpit of St. Paul's Church and preached a charity sermon, which seems to have made a good impression. Benjamin Moore was the son of Samuel and Sarah Moore, his mother's maiden name

¹ "TO THE PUBLIC.

"A Mezzotinto Print of the Revd. Doctor OGILVIE, (taken from an extraordinary likeness) is now in hand and will be finished in a few weeks;—the size of the plate is 15 inches by 11,—As the Subscriber has it done solely at his own risque, and was the first person in this city, who proposed it, and was even promised the portrait, which is now to be sent to England, to take a sketch from: He is in hopes that all those who are inclined to promote arts and ingenuity in America, will make it a point to encourage the undertaking.

"ANTHONY LAMB.

"N.B. The price will not exceed half a dollar."—*The New-York Journal*, Jan. 26, 1775. See also for the rival picture *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, Jan. 19, 1775.

² "Doctor Ogilvie, by his last will bequeathed the following legacies, *viz.*, 300*l.* to the Charity School in this City; 100*l.* to King's College; and 100*l.* to the Corporation for the relief of the widows and children of Clergymen in communion with the Church of England in America, hereby exhibiting an instance of benevolence,—that uniform attention to the happiness and welfare of mankind, which regulated each step of his conduct through life."—*Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, Dec. 29, 1774.



PHOTODUPLICATION & COLOR CO. N.Y.

The Rev. John Ogilvie.
Assistant Minister
1764 - 1774.

ABRIL 100
Y 125.000
Y 200.000

being Fish. He was born at Newtown, Long Island, October 5, 1748. After a preparatory course pursued at Newtown and New Haven, he passed through King's College and then read theology under the direction of Dr. Auchmuty, doing some service likewise as a teacher of Latin and Greek. In May, 1774, he went to England, and on June 24th was ordained deacon at Fulham by Dr. Terrick, Bishop of London, being advanced to the priesthood on June 29th, in the same place and by the same bishop. Upon his return he began to officiate in and around New York.¹

At a meeting held December 6th :

"Resolved that the Rev. John Vardill (who is now in England) be called as an assistant Minister to officiate in his turn at the several Churches in this city on the Lord's Day, for which service he shall be allowed a salary of one hundred pounds p. annum, and that a Subscription be started as a further provision for Mr. Inglis and Mr. Vardill, it being expected that the latter would receive some support as 'one of the Professors of the College.'"²

Subsequently, January 3, 1775, the Board

"Resolved that if the sum of six hundred and eighty-three pounds or upwards can be raised by subscription on such security as will be satisfactory to the Rev. Mr. Benjamin Moore and the Rev. John Bowden that in that case the Vestry will call them both as assistant Ministers in this Parish. That the Rev. Mr. Inglis shall be allowed out of the said subscriptions the sum of two hundred pounds annually. The Rev. Mr. Vardill the sum of fifty pounds annually and the two other gentlemen if called shall divide the residue of the said subscription equally between them."

In case sufficient subscriptions were not received it was agreed that only one should be called.³ By the end of

¹ *Centennial History of the Diocese of New York*, 142. According to Sprague in his *Annals*, v., 299, Mr. Moore was ordained priest the day after he was made deacon.

² Records, i., 387.

³ *Ibid.*, 378.

the month the requisite sum had not been pledged, and it was agreed to take two weeks more of time.

In February the committee reported pledges to the amount of £691, 2s, whereupon a committee was appointed "to wait on the Reverend Mr. Moore and the Rev. Mr. Bowden to acquaint them with the state of the said subscriptions, and of the engagements for their salaries, and to know whether they will accept a call on those terms."¹ Three days later the committee reported that they had made known the condition of the subscription to the gentlemen in question, both of whom accepted, it being understood that the Corporation, such being the state of its funds, was not to be held answerable for any deficiency in the subscription. Whereupon they were duly elected assistant ministers.

Of the Rev. John Bowden it may here be said that, according to Sprague,² he was the eldest son of Thomas Bowden, an officer of the Forty-sixth regiment of foot, having been born in Ireland, Jan. 7, 1751. On the opening of the French war the father came over with his regiment to this country, the son following him under the charge of a clergyman of the Church of England. He studied at Princeton two years, after which he returned with his father to Ireland. In 1770 he was again in New York, and a student at King's College, graduating in 1772. He then read divinity and repaired to England for ordination, where he was made deacon by Dr. Keppel, Bishop of Exeter, and priest by Dr. Terrick, Bishop of London, in 1774. During the summer of this year he returned to New York, and was finally elected an assistant minister, as stated.

Dr. Berrian says :

¹ Berrian's *Historical Sketch*, 138.

² *Annals*, v., 304.

"In 1774 the Rev. John Vardill, God-father of Gen. Laight, now a member of the Vestry, was called as an Assistant Minister of Trinity Church. He was then in England, but in consequence of the troubles which were impending over the Colonies, he never entered upon the duties of his office."¹

A correspondent of the *Journal*, under the pseudonym of "A Real Churchman," writes :

"This gentleman possesses all the qualifications mentioned by *Ecclesiastes* as requisite in a clergyman, and many others he does not name. I need not enlarge on his abilities, for they are universally known and acknowledged.—Whilst at college, he was noted for his assiduous application to study, and for his rapid progress in the several branches of science, as well as in the languages. I question whether America ever sent a better scholar, of his age, to England, or one that has done her more honour. His character has been ever clear of even the suspicion of vice or levity : on the contrary, he is, and always has been remarkably grave and serious. He has most engaging sweetness of disposition ; and a devout religious turn of mind, which solely induced him to enter into holy orders. He has a clear, strong, manly voice, which thousands can testify, who have frequently heard him speak in our largest church, when crowded at the public commencements. He was distinctly heard by all present ; tho' it is well known that on such occasions, it is most difficult to fill a church with the voice, and be understood. Those who have repeatedly heard him speak publicly at college, and at the church of Jamaica, where he read prayers and a sermon each Sunday for near a twelvemonth can attest the same."²

News was received in New York, Dec. 8, 1774, that the King had founded a professorship of divinity in the college and that the Rev. John Vardill, A.M., had been appointed professor.

¹ Berrian's *Historical Sketch*, 136.

² *The New-York Journal*, Dec. 22, 1774.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE RECTORSHIP OF DR. AUCHMUTY, CONTINUED.

The Revolutionary War Begins—Anneke Jans's Heirs Troublesome—Gov. Tryon and Genl. Washington in New York—Assault on Dr. Cooper—Rev. Benjamin Moore in Temporary Charge of the College—Mr. Andrew Barclay—Capt. Michael Cresap—New York Occupied by the American Forces—Rev. Charles Inglis in Charge—Sufferings of the Royalist Clergy—Affair in St. Paul's Chapel—Ebenezer Hazard's Account of it—Churches Closed—Inglis Withdraws to Flushing, L. I.—Battle of Long Island—Royal Forces Occupy New York—Great Fire—Destruction of Trinity Church—Narrow Escape of St. Paul's Chapel—O'Beirne's Sermon in St. Paul's—Return of Dr. Auchmuty—Desecration of Churches in New York—Convention of Clergy in New York—Death of Dr. Auchmuty.

THE Records of the parish at the opening of the year 1775 present very little of interest. The distracted condition of the times prevented the bestowal of much attention on purely ecclesiastical matters. The vast issues of the Revolution were now before the people, who began to see what was close at hand. The winter passed, however, before hostilities were actually begun. The fight at Concord was followed by the capture of Ticonderoga, May 10th, and on June 17th the colonies were aroused by the battle of Bunker Hill. In the absence of Tryon, affairs were largely under the control of the New York Provincial Congress. In the midst of all these distractions the Corporation of Trinity Church were compelled to look well to their interests, as the resources were fast failing. It was found at a regular meeting of the Board, May 9th, that there was a large deficit, a balance of more than two hundred pounds being due to the Warden, Mr. Desbrosses. It was ordered to pay Mr. Inglis one hundred pounds on his bond. This,

according to the Records, was the only meeting of the Board held during the year.

In St. Paul's Chapel, May 28, 1775, in the midst of much public excitement, Dr. Auchmuty turned to an old discourse preached in 1763, and repeated it from the text, "Set your affections on things above, not on things on ye Earth" (Coll. iii., 2). In September he preached again from Ephesians i., 10; and 1 Timothy iv., 8. These three sermons are all that we have of his writings in manuscript until we come to his sermon of the following year, preached after the defeat of the Americans, under Washington, at the battle of Long Island.

The "Heirs of Anneke Jans" start up again like Jack-in-the-box. As if excited by the inflammatory state of the atmosphere, they renew their efforts to get possession, by hook or by crook, of the Church property, thinking, perhaps, that the maintenance of unfounded claims would be easier in a state of general turmoil. In the "Remonstrance" already referred to they represent, that

"On the 30th day of May, 1775, a number of rioters, commissioned by Dr. Auchmuty, and Elias Desbrosses, Esq; and headed by Alderman Matthews, entered Mr. Bogardus's enclosure, and broke down his division fences, carried them off and burned them, kicked a poor woman in the eye, and wounded her husband, who attempted to defend her."

This shows the complainant's peculiar manner of describing such rencontres,¹ which occurred again in 1784. The Corporation, as may readily be concluded from this account, were acting with firmness, having law and equity

¹ They also say, though the date is not evident, that "John Noblet, a tenant, who possessed the land under Mr. Bogardus's title, sowed a field of rye in the Fall, it stood on the ground until the next Summer; when the grain began to grow hard, and near fit for harvesting, a number of ruffians acting under the authority of the Corporation of Trinity Church, pulled down, and carried off Mr. Noblet's fence, and destroyed the field of rye, the bounty of Heaven."—*New York Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1870, p. 356.

on their side ; the Bogardus party stigmatized the agents of two corporations as "rioters," while the fact remained, and they themselves recognized it, that not an alderman in the city would grant a summons against the agents of the Church, though every alderman was applied to in turn. The fact shows who were the aggressors. It was then, as now, well known to the people that the title of the Church to the lands was perfect, the court having so decreed, while the decision has been reaffirmed by every authority, by which it has been considered, down to the present day.

Governor Tryon had been ordered back to New York ; he arrived June 25th, at eight o'clock in the evening. A more confusing day can hardly be imagined ; one of the strangest in our annals. On the 21st of June, 1775, George Washington, enveloped in the cloud and mist of a destiny as yet uncertain, set forth from Philadelphia to go to Boston, by the way of New York. The city was expecting Governor Tryon, whose return from England was looked for hour by hour ; and now Washington was expected also. *Quoi faire ?* The Provincial Congress voted to receive with military honors whichever should arrive the first. As it chanced, both came on the same day. Washington made his appearance on the morning of the 25th of June. He was received and congratulated, yet somewhat cautiously ; he passed on. In the evening came Governor Tryon ; and on the following day he had his reception. It was cordial and earnest ; the conservative classes had no heart for what was coming ; nor did they wish as yet to be independent of the mother country.

Governor Tryon, on arriving in the province, found himself face to face with a hopeless task. He had been notified by the Earl of Dartmouth of the King's

"firm Resolution to exert every power which the constitution has

placed in His hands to compel obedience to the Laws and authority of the supreme Legislature. To that end, orders have been already given for augmenting our Naval Forces in America, and we think we shall soon be able to make such addition to the Army under General Gage as will enable him to withstand the utmost efforts of that Rebellion into which the People of the four New England Provinces have so rashly plunged.”¹

On the 7th of August, writing to Dartmouth, after referring to the battle of Bunker Hill and the profound secrecy with which the Americans were concealing their plans, he goes on to say:

“The Americans appeared to have lost sight of first principles & first causes, and have gone on to adopt measures & prosecute Plans of the most determin’d opposition and resistance, and I fear are fatally abandoned to the Resolution of hazarding everything rather than to submit to the principle of Parliamentary Taxation.”

He therefore recommends a repeal of the duty on tea, which

“would be removing the original ostensible cause of discontent and greatly abate the early prejudices among the Populace and Peasantry of this Province. Five or six thousand or more, Regulars, being then sent to New York, supported by three or four regiments of Americans, which I am confident might then be raised in this Province & the Jerseys, the authority of his Majesty’s government, now entirely prostrate through the Colonies, might, at least, be reinstated.”²

Dr. Cooper, like the rest of the clergy, entered warmly into the arena of politics, defending the Church against all comers, and sometimes getting roughly handled by his own pupils. The president held his ground with such zeal, that finally a personal attack was planned against him, his apartments being entered by a mob, incited largely by a letter from Philadelphia, dated April 25, 1775, and signed under the pseudonym of “Three Millions” addressed to “Messieurs Delancey, White, Colden,

¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, viii., 587.

² *Ibid.*, 598.

Watts and Cooper of New-York." It ascribes to their action the strong support given in New York to the King, and charges upon them the blood of the men slain at Concord and Lexington on April 19th, together with all the horrors of civil war. They were advised, therefore, "Fly for your lives, or anticipate your doom by becoming your own executioners."¹ On the 10th of May, as Jones relates, though he erroneously places the occurrence in August,

"a select party of republicans, of which John Smith and Joshua Hett Smith were the most forward, collected together in the evening at a public-house, and after swallowing a proper dose of Madeira, set off about midnight with a full design of seizing the Rev. Dr. Cooper, then President of Kings College, in his bed, of shaving his head, cutting off his ears, slitting his nose, stripping him naked, and turning him adrift (as the expression was). Luckily for the President, a student who had been out that night, in returning to his chambers, and overhearing their conversation, instantly took to his heels, and by turning into alleys, and taking a nearer course than the assailants, he arrived at the President's room just time enough to give him information of his danger. Rising from his bed, and huddling on some of his clothes, he jumped out of a back window, a few minutes before the rascals entered the front door of the College. Having luckily escaped the intended violence, he took refuge in the house of a friend, was concealed till the morning, and then safely conveyed on board one of his Majesty's ships in the harbour, from whence he sailed for England."²

It may be added here that the Rev. Benjamin Moore, now an assistant minister of the parish, was appointed to the temporary charge of the college. When the Committee of Safety took possession of the buildings for the accommodation of the American troops, in the year 1776, the library and scientific apparatus were deposited in the City Hall, but were nearly all lost, only about seven hundred volumes being found some thirty years later, with other books belonging to the Society Library and to Trinity

¹ Force's *Am. Archives*, § 4, ii., 389.

² Jones's *History of New York*, i., 59.

Church, in a room in St. Paul's Chapel. Eight years later the college once more appears as a living institution, doing its appointed work.

On the 10th of October, 1775, Governor Tryon retired to the Halifax packet then lying in the harbor. November 11th, he wrote to Dartmouth that since the thirtieth of the previous month he had been on board the *Duchess of Gordon*, protected by the guns of the man-of-war *Asia*.¹ He added that within the fortnight the spirit of rebellion had nevertheless abated ; that the counties of Westchester, Dutchess, King, Queen, and Richmond were well affected ; and that he only needed those five or six thousand regulars. He says, "The Sword, My Lord, is drawn, and it is that must now establish a constitution."²

Among the funerals in the parish at this time, some have more than a passing interest :

"On Monday last died Mr. Andrew Barclay, an eminent merchant and brother of the Rev. Dr. Barclay, late rector of this parish, a most worthy and exemplary citizen, universally beloved by all who knew him."³

"On Monday last died at Brunswick, in the 63d. year of his age, on his way to this city, the Hon. James Habersham, Esq., President of his Majesty's council of Georgia. He was a man of great probity, integrity, and honour, an able counsellor, an affectionate and tender parent, and well acquainted with the delicacies of true friendship. In his life he was greatly beloved, esteemed, and honoured by all his friends, and his death is equally regretted by all who had the honour of his acquaintance. His remains were on Thursday evening interred in the family vault of Nathaniel Marston, Esq., in Trinity Church yard."⁴

Captain Michael Cresap, of Virginia, had greatly distinguished himself in the frontier military service. This young and gallant officer was one of the first of the Vir-

¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, viii., 643.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, June 22, 1775.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Sept. 7, 1775.

ginians who became a sacrifice to the cause of American freedom. The militia and "the most respectable citizens" attended the remains to their place of burial in Trinity Churchyard.¹

The original tombstone erected in Trinity Churchyard now stands in the vestibule of the New York Historical Society. It bears the following inscription, besides some rude attempts at ornament :

In Memory of
Michael Cresap, First Cap^t
Of the Rifle Batalions,
And Son to Co^l Thomas
Cresap, Who Departed this
Life October the : 18 : 1775 : ²

Notwithstanding the turmoil and uncertainty of the times, the children of the Charity School and the poor were not forgotten.³

¹ The daily papers give considerable prominence to the funeral. The order of the procession is thus given :

"On the 12th Instant arrived here on his return from the Provincial Camp at Cambridge, and on the 18th departed this Life of a Fever, in the twenty-eighth Year of his Age, MICHAEL CRESSOP, Esq. ; eldest Son of Col. Thomas Cressop, of Potowmack, in Virginia: He was a Captain of a Rifle Company now in the Continental Army before Boston. He served as a Captain under the Command of Lord Dunmore, in the late Expedition against the Indians, in which he eminently distinguished himself by his Prudence, Firmness, and Intrepidity, as a brave Officer ; and in the present Contest between the Parent State and the Colonies, gave proofs of his Attachment to the Rights and Liberties of his Country."—*The New-York Gazette*, October 23, 1775.

² Brantz Mayer's *Logan & Cresap*, 144, which gives an engraving of the stone ; also *A Biographical Sketch of the Life of the Late Captain Michael Cresap*, by John J. Jacob.

³ "Yesterday Forenoon a Charity Sermon was preached at Trinity-Church, by the Rev. Mr. Moore, and a large Collection made for the Use of the Charity School in this City ; and next Sunday another Charity Sermon for the like laudable Purpose will be preached at St. Georges Chapel. Mr. Moore's text was from Psalm XLI. v. 1., *Blessed is he that considereth the Poor and Needy ; the Lord shall deliver him in Time of Trouble.*"—*The New-York Gazette*, Dec. 4, 1775.

"Next Sunday Morning, the first anniversary Sermon will be preached at Trinity Church for the Benefit of the Poor Children belonging to the Charity School ; on the

Early in January, 1776, Washington, then at Cambridge, hearing that Sir Henry Clinton was about to sail on a secret expedition, and fearing for the safety of New York, agreed with General Charles Lee to raise troops in Connecticut; and within a fortnight twelve hundred men were on the march for New York, Lee having that famous "Son of Liberty," Captain Sears, afterward a member of Trinity Corporation, as his adjutant. As the Connecticut men approached, many of the Royalists fled with their families and effects to Long Island and New Jersey. The Committee of Safety objected to Lee's entrance into the city, as Captain Parker of the *Asia* had threatened to bombard the town. Lee, paying no attention to either party, marched in and encamped in "the Fields," the present City Hall park, declaring, "If the ships are quiet, I shall be quiet," his aim being simply to save the city to the Republicans. Parker excused himself from opening fire on the ground that Lee desired the destruction of the city, and that he would not gratify him. This decided the Americans, and the Provincial Congress voted to fortify and garrison the city with two thousand men.

Governor Tryon wrote on the 8th of February, from his winter retreat in the cabin of the *Duchess of Gordon*:

"Gen^l Lee came into this Town last Sunday, escorted by a company of Rifle men, his body guard, and a Regiment of Connecticut men commanded by Col^o Waterbury.

"The day before Yesterday Lord Sterling at the head of four Companies of Jersey troops also arrived here, and more are expected. The City is in Terror and confusion: One-half of its inhabitants have withdrawn their effects, hundreds without the means to support their families."¹

Sunday following, the second at St. George's Chapel; and the third, the Sunday after at St. Paul's.

"Should the Weather on any of these Sundays be unfavourable to the Design, the Sermon will be postponed to the Sunday following."—*The New-York Journal*, Nov. 30, 1775.

¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, viii., 667.

Part of the public records had been placed on board the *Duchess of Gordon*, and Tryon stood ready to transfer all the rest to secure their careful preservation for the benefit of the public. He says, however, that the indications point to hostilities against the King's ships, and that the *Asia* and the *Phœnix* have been obliged to draw near the wharfs, being in the way of the floating ice, but he trusts that the severity of the season is past.

General Clinton had now come out from England, and to a large extent the responsibility lay with him.

Though confined on board his ship, Tryon carried forward his work to the best of his ability, and was aided through Rivington's paper, the *Gazetteer*; the office of which, at the foot of Wall Street, was finally invaded one day at noon by Captain Sears, supported by a party of seventy-five light horsemen from Connecticut, who destroyed the press, and carried off the type to make bullets. On their way home they stopped at Westchester, seized the Rev. Samuel Seabury, and took him to New Haven.¹

On April 18th, Tryon wrote that he had gone down to Sandy Hook on the *Duchess of Gordon*, where he was protected under the guns of the *Phœnix*, and that the General Assembly had been prorogued by the Council, who, however, had not been permitted to consult him on the subject. Four hundred of "the enemy" appeared yester-

¹ Lossing's *Field Book*, ii., 798. "Gaines's political creed, it seems, was to join the strongest party. When the British troops were about to take possession of New York in 1776, he left the city and set up his press in Newark; but soon after, in the belief that appearances were against the ultimate success of the United States, he privately withdrew from Newark, and returned to New York. At the conclusion of the war he petitioned the State legislature for leave to remain in the city, and having obtained permission, his press was employed in book-printing, etc., but his newspaper was discontinued when the British army left. . . . He died April 25, 1807, aged eighty-one years."—*The History of Printing in America*, by Isaiah Thomas, i., 301.

day, he says, on the Hook. While he lay there he learned of the Declaration of Independence ; in due time he was back in New York again.

At this time a plot was originated, it is said, by Tryon, to capture Washington and murder his general officers. Washington refers to the subject June 28th. He then thought that no regular plan had been concerted, though the matter had been "traced up to Governor Tryon." Thomas Hickey, one of the guard, was condemned to death, and Mayor Hicks appears to have been a principal agent in it. He was arrested with other citizens. Some five hundred persons were said to be in the plot, which was to have been executed upon the arrival of the British army.¹

The Rev. Charles Inglis took a prominent part in public affairs at this critical point in the history of the province and city. Writing to the Society, October 31, 1776, he gives a detailed account of the Church, declaring that all the missionaries in New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut were loyal to the Crown, while the clergy not employed by the Society maintain the same policy, having prevented thousands from joining in the rebellion. He says that they continued to go on with their duties, confining themselves in their sermons to the Gospel and not dealing with politics. They were accordingly threatened, reviled, and treated in an unmerciful manner ; some found their way into prisons and jails ; some were actually pulled out of the reading-desk for praying for the King ; others were warned to appear at militia musters armed and equipped and were fined for not obeying. Some likewise had had their houses broken into and plundered by parties in search of treasonable papers. In fact he maintained

¹ See Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, iii., 440 ; Force's *Am. Archives*, vi., 1064 ; and Lossing's *Field Book of the Revolution*, ii., 801.

that a true account of the hardships endured by the clergy were scarcely inferior to those sustained in the great rebellion of the previous century, and would form no bad supplement to Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*.

Referring to these statements of Mr. Inglis, it may be well to add a few words in justification of the conduct of our clergy at that period, and in corroboration of the charge of ill-treatment on the part of the more violent of the revolutionary party. The clergy of the Church of England, in taking the oath of conformity, had also solemnly sworn to follow in all their ministrations the liturgy and offices of the Book of Common Prayer. That book contained prayers for the King. When the independence of the colonies was proclaimed, the revolutionists demanded of the clergy, everywhere, that they should desist from saying those prayers in the public use of the offices of the Church ; while the clergy, considering themselves bound in conscience not only by their oath of allegiance but also by their promise of conformity, and not recognizing the authority of the newly constituted Congress, refused, with few exceptions, to comply.¹

The prayers for the King became, in this way, the test, where such was needed, of each man's disposition towards the popular movement and the index to his sympathies ; and there was no escape from the publicity into which it brought him. And now, wherever the revolutionary side had the upper hand, commenced a series of assaults on the

¹ " Since the declaration of Independency the alternative has been either to make such alterations in the Liturgy as both honor and conscience must be alarmed at, or else to shut up our Churches, and discontinue our attendance on the public Worship. It was impossible for me to hesitate a moment in such a case, and I find that many of the Clergy in Pennsylvania and every one in New Jersey (Mr. Blackwell only excepted) have thought it their indispensable duty in this perplexing situation to suspend our public Ministrations rather than make any alteration in the established Liturgy." (Letter from Dr. Odell to the Secretary of the S. P. G., *Hist. of the Church in Burlington*, by the Rev. George Morgan Hills, D.D., 317.)

unhappy clergy, which darken the annals of the history of our country. They were assailed and driven from the homes in which they had led their peaceful lives; no regard was had to length of service or bodily infirmity; wives and children were turned adrift with their unfortunate husbands; churches were burnt, libraries destroyed, organs broken to pieces; men were dragged through mire and dirt, hunted into the woods, thrown into prison, threatened with death, and driven into banishment in their old age; in short there was no kind of insult, outrage, or indignity that was not heaped upon them in the name of "liberty." It looks as if the hatred of Episcopacy, long repressed, seized that opportunity to make up for years of enforced abstinence from its congenial work; and scenes, the counterpart of those witnessed in the old country under the Cromwellian usurpation, were re-enacted in the new land by the descendants of the Puritan and the Independent. The outrages to which I now refer occurred especially in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and other parts of New England. Some illustrations will inform the reader of their character.

The Rev. Thomas Barton, a missionary in the counties of York, Lancaster, and Cumberland, in Pennsylvania, writes to the Venerable Society, November 25, 1776, as follows:

"I have been obliged to shut up my churches to avoid the fury of the populace, who would not suffer the liturgy to be used, unless the collects and prayers for the King and royal family were omitted, which neither my conscience nor the declaration I made and subscribed when ordained would allow me to comply with; and although I used every prudent step to give no offence even to those who usurped authority and rule, and exercised the severest tyranny over us, yet my life and property have been threatened, upon mere suspicion of being unfriendly to what is called the 'American cause.' Indeed, every clergyman of the Church of England who dared to act upon proper principles,

was marked out for infamy and insult, in consequence of which the Missionaries, in particular, have suffered greatly. Some of them have been dragged from their horses, assaulted with stones and dirt, ducked in water, obliged to flee for their lives, driven from their habitations and families, laid under arrests and imprisoned. I believe they were all (or at least most of them) reduced to the same necessity with me, of shutting up their churches."¹

The Rev. Mr. Preston, missionary at Amboy, N. J., on his return found

"his parsonage house so demolished that it was not habitable, the windows broken to pieces, the partitions torn down, and the outhouses and fences all burnt and destroyed."²

The Rev. Isaac Browne, after forty-three years' service on Long Island and in New Jersey,

"was forced at the outbreak of the civil war, to seek refuge in New York, leaving his wife, servants, and all the property of which he was possessed, in the hands of the enemy."³

The Rev. Mr. Serjeant, of Cambridge, Mass., was obliged, with his whole family, to fly for the safety of their lives; his fine church was turned into a barrack and the organ which it contained broken in pieces.⁴

Mr. J. W. Weeks, missionary at Marblehead, writes under date of September 7, 1775:

"The condition of your missionaries is truly deplorable: they have enemies all around them, and no friends but God and their consciences. I am now stripped of the comforts and conveniences of life; my wife and a family of eight helpless children are obliged to seek shelter in a wilderness, the horrors of which they had never seen or felt before. And yet even there they have not been suffered to remain in quiet."⁵

Many were the cases, like that of the Rev. Dr. Caner, who had been thirty years in Boston, doing work through-

¹ Hawkins's *Historical Notices*, 139.

² *Ibid.*, 161.

³ *Ibid.*, 162.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 245.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 246. Anderson's *Colonial Church*, iii., 551.

out Massachusetts and Connecticut, in which men fled at a few hours' notice, leaving all they had in the world, and escaping to places where their lives at least would be safe.

The Rev. John Graves, of Providence, R. I., writes, September 19, 1776, that after a ministry of twenty years, his two churches had been shut up, and all his means of support cut off, but that he still continued to baptize the children, visit the sick, and bury the dead, and do what work he could among the people.¹

The Rev. Mather Byles, writing from Halifax, on May 4, 1776, states that not having been

"allowed to bring away my furniture, or anything that I possessed, but a couple of beds, with such articles as might be contained in a few trunks and boxes, I now see myself, without being guilty of any crime to occasion it, reduced within the compass of a few days, to the most distressing circumstances imaginable—an exile from my native country—pent up in one wretched chamber, in a strange place together with my five motherless children, one son and four daughters, deprived of every other earthly enjoyment, and entirely at a loss as to my future residence and subsistence."²

John Peters, brother to the Rev. Samuel Peters, D.D., writes from Quebec, July 20, 1778:

"They seized me, Capt. Peters, and all the judges of Cumberland and Gloucester, the Rev. Mr. Cossit and Mr. Cole, and all the Church people for 200 miles upon this river [Connecticut] and confined us in close gaols, after beating and drawing us through water and mud. Here we lay some time and were to continue in prison until we abjured the King and signed the league and covenant, similar to that in Noll's time, except they fought the King's troops, and we were to fight the ministerial troops. Many falling sick, some died; one of which was Capt. Peters' son. . . . Cossit and Cole were alive . . . but were under confinement, and had undergone more insults than any of the

¹ Hawkins's *Historical Notices*, 243. For the trials of his brother, Rev. Matthew Graves, rector of St. James's Church, New London, Conn., see the *Annals* of that parish by Robert A. Hallam, D.D., 56, 57.

² Hawkins's *Historical Notices*, 249.

loyalists, because they had been servants of the Society, which, under pretence (as the rebels say) of propagating religion, had propagated loyalty, in opposition to the liberties of America."¹

The Rev. Samuel Seabury, in a letter dated at New York, December 29, 1776, gives a graphic account of the trials and sufferings of the clergy in Westchester County.² Among the confessors for conscience' sake may be mentioned, also, the Rev. John Sayre of Fairfield, Conn., the Rev. Leonard Cutting at Hempstead, L. I., the Rev. Luke Babcock at Philipsburg, the Rev. Messrs. Veits, Leaming, and Beardsley. To dwell on this subject, however, is unnecessary: the story is always the same; they had "trial of cruel mockings, yea moreover of bonds and imprisonment, they wandered about, being destitute, afflicted, tormented"; and all this because they would not break their ordination vows nor submit to an authority which they could not recognize as lawful. It is to be remembered that the Revolution had not yet been crowned with success, and that the independence of the colonies was not yet a fixed fact; the clergy walked by the light which they had, and that light indicated the path of loyalty to their sovereign as the way of duty and honor.³

The embarrassment of the clergy in general was shared by those in New York: to omit the prayers for the King and royal family was against their conscience; the use of the prayers would have drawn upon them inevitable destruction; to close the churches seemed to them to be

¹ Hawkins's *Historical Notices*, 252. This slur on the work of the Venerable Society was common among the enemies of the Church of England. I possess a copy (A.D. 1730) of Dr. Humphreys's *History of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*; some one has bracketed the last four words, and put in their places "Propagation of Episcopacy."

² See Bolton's *Hist. of Westchester Co.*, 377-384, where some of Seabury's letters are given.

³ *The Church of England in Nova Scotia and the Tory Clergy of the Revolution*, by Arthur Wentworth Eaton, chaps. vi. and x.

the only course to pursue. The sole exception was that of the venerable Mr. Beach, of Newtown, Conn., who, if Mr. Inglis was rightly informed, declared that he would "do his duty, preach and pray for the King, 'till the rebels cut out his tongue." All the churches in the province of New York, except in New York City, Long and Staten Islands, were closed; only where the King's troops were found were the churches open. Upon Howe's departure from Boston, and the concentration of the American forces at New York, the inhabitants removed with their effects into the country. Mr. Inglis states that he had taken his family, consisting of his wife and three small children, seventy miles up the North River, where they still remained, that part of the country being in the hands of the rebels. Dr. Auchmuty, the rector, being much indisposed during the spring and summer and finding himself unable to endure the strain upon him, retired to New Brunswick, with all his family, where he had the protection of the royal forces. The care of the church in the meanwhile devolved upon Mr. Inglis, as the senior assistant, a situation which he felt to be very trying, as the other assistants were young and inexperienced, though loyal and worthy.¹ He continues that after "Mr. Washington" came to town the rebel committee harassed the loyalists very much, and that when the force was sent to Long Island the members of the Church of England were

¹ There can be no doubt of the strength of the feeling of loyalty, up to this time, in New York and the vicinity. Thus, for instance, Dr. Odell writes, January 25, 1777, as follows, referring to his mission at Burlington, N. J. "The people of my Mission [Jersey] in these times of public distraction, have, in general discovered a spirit of moderation, and have been almost unanimous in their aversion to independency; but the progress of that party in the Country who seem long since to have been determined on that fatal measure has been conducted in such a manner as to preclude any effectual opposition. In fact the Independency *assumed* by the Congress long before they declared it made it both difficult and dangerous to attempt any other opposition than a *silent* testimony of disapprobation."—Hill's *History of the Church in Burlington*, 317.

the only sufferers, declaring, though no one knows on what ground, that the Dutch loyalists were not molested, notwithstanding they were numerous and persistent in their loyalty. At the present time hundreds from this city were prisoners in New England, among them being the mayor, and several judges and members of his Majesty's Council.

The proceedings of the Society for 1777, based on the correspondence of Mr. Inglis, relate that :

“Soon after the arrival of the revolutionary forces in the city (April, 1776), a message was brought to Mr. Inglis that ‘General Washington would be at Church, and would be glad if the violent prayers for the King and royal family were omitted.’ The message was disregarded, and the sender—one of the ‘rebel generals’—was informed that it was in his power to shut up the churches but not to make ‘the clergy depart from their duty.’”¹

May 17th was appointed by the Continental Congress as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer throughout the country, and the members of the parish unanimously requested Mr. Inglis to observe it. He consented to preach, but simply gave notice on the previous Sunday that there would be a service on Friday. He spoke upon the general subject of repentance, and made no allusion to the day, explicitly claiming to have nothing to do with politics. The Americans now considered New York impregnable, and the mortifications of the clergy were innumerable. They frequently heard themselves called “Tory” and “traitor” as they passed through the streets, while epithets were added that it would not be decent to set down. Finally we come to a matter that has been dressed up in a very dramatic style by nearly every writer who has gone over this period of New York history. Mr. Inglis writes :

¹ *Digest of S. P. G. Records*, 77.

“Violent threats were thrown out against us, in case the king were any longer prayed for. One Sunday, when I was officiating, and had proceeded some length in the service, a company of about one hundred armed rebels marched into the church, with drums beating and fifes playing, their guns loaded and bayonets fixed, as if going to battle. The congregation was thrown into the utmost terror, and several women fainted, expecting a massacre was intended. I took no notice of them and went on with the service, only exerted my voice, which was in some measure drowned by the noise and tumult. The rebels stood thus in the aisle for near fifteen minutes, till, being asked into pews by the sexton, they complied. Still, however, the people expected that, when the collects for the king and the royal family were read, I should be fired at, as menaces to that purpose had been frequently flung out. The matter, however, passed over without any accident. Nothing of this kind happened before or since, which made it more remarkable. I was afterwards assured, that something violent was intended, but He that stills the raging of the sea and madness of the people, overruled their purpose, whatever it was.”¹

There is another side to this story which deserves consideration ; because, although there is no reason to doubt the intrepidity of Inglis, the circumstances under which, according to his account, it was displayed reflect on the conduct of the American officers and the men under their command. General Washington was a Churchman and a communicant ; it is most improbable that an interruption of divine service, such as that described by Dr. Inglis, could have taken place under his sanction ; while it is a very probable supposition that the clergyman, being excited and anxious, mistook the intention of the soldiers and ascribed to them motives of which they were innocent. At all events, the account by Dr. Inglis, as published in the Venerable Society's Abstract, was criticised as long ago as 1782 by Ebenezer Hazard, then Postmaster-General, who, writing from Philadelphia to Dr. Belknap of New Hampshire, under date of August 7th, denies the

¹ Hawkins's *Historical Notices*, 334.

truth of the story, and goes so far as to say that it was an invention made up in the interests of the Church. In explanation of the incident as he understood it, he thus proceeds :

“When our army lay at New York it was usual for such parts of it as were not engaged in necessary military duty to go to some place of public worship on the Sabbath ; and, as the enemy were at the Hook, they took their guns with them, and their bayonets were fixed. This, I suppose, was considered a necessary precaution to prevent a surprise. They marched in regular order and had their military music with them. Some went to one church, and some to another, just as their inclinations or those of their officers led them. This information will enable you to understand Mr. Inglis’ story. It is very probable that ‘150 rebels marched’ to ‘Church with drums beating and fifes playing,’ etc., but not ‘into’ it, because the music always ceased when the troops came to the Church door ; and I recollect perfectly that my minister, finding the congregation were disturbed by the music’s continuing so long, mentioned it to the commanding officer, and after that it was stopped at some distance from the Church, so as to be no way inconvenient. At the time Mr. Inglis refers to, the sight of so many troops coming armed to Church might have been a novelty and frightened some of the ‘women.’ This is very probable, and the noise of so many feet moving at once may have increased their terrors ; but it does not appear, even from his own story, that any mischief was really intended. ‘The rebels stood in the aisle near fifteen minutes.’ From the tenour of his tale, one would suppose he thought it was that they might be ready to ‘fire at him when the collects for the king and royal family were read.’ But it was evidently because they had no seats, for ‘being asked into pews by the sexton they complied and the matter passed over without any accident.’ In short, I believe the truth of the matter to have been nothing more than that a number of soldiers went to church to hear a sermon, behaved themselves very decently there, and after service very peaceably retired ; but that Mr. Inglis thought he should recommend himself to his employers, by exhibiting an instance of fortitude and perseverance in the midst of surrounding dangers, and therefore made the dreadful tale. The story as he tells it might very sensibly affect the Society, who doubtless considered him as a person of integrity, and from their distance must necessarily be ignorant of circumstances ; but Americans must see improbability in *prima facie* more especially when it is recollected that General Wash-

ington, who had the supreme command of the troops, and was then upon the spot, is a member of the Church of England, and most certainly would not suffer any indignity to be offered to her, while others were encouraged by him."¹

It is not hard to harmonize these differing accounts. That given by Hazard is certainly the more probable, though he had no ground for imputing to Mr. Inglis the intention to tell a falsehood for a purpose. Inglis no doubt related the matter as it appeared to him at a time when he was in a high state of anxiety, and thought himself in imminent personal peril. His behavior under the circumstances was that of a fearless man; though we must hold the American troops guiltless of the intention to commit an outrage in the house of God.

As a matter of interest it may be stated here that on July 1st the brother of Dr. Auchmuty was taken with other prisoners on a sloop coming from Halifax with supplies for the English troops.²

After the Declaration of Independence, acting in accordance with a long-cherished conviction, and knowing that Lord Howe had completed his preparations to take possession of the city, Mr. Inglis decided to close the churches. In this course he had the approval of such of the Vestry and members of the congregation as were in town, who shared his fear that the continued use of the prayers for the king might result in a "demolition of the churches and the destruction of all who frequented them," as "all the King's arms, even those on signs of taverns,

¹ *Belknap Papers, Coll. of the Mass. Hist. Society*, vol. ii., fifth series, 1877, p. 144.

² "On Sunday last one of our Cruisers, on the south side of Long-Island, took a large Bermudian built sloop from Halifax, laden with entrenching tools, &c., bound for this place; in which a number of the Boston Refugees are on board, among whom it is said, Robert Auchmuty, Esq., late judge of the Admiralty at Boston, and brother to the Rev. Dr. Auchmuty (of this city) is among them."—*The Constitutional Gazette*, July 3, 1776.

were destroyed." Things being thus situated, he says, "I shut up the churches." But he represents that this was attended with great hazard, "for it was declaring, in the strongest manner, our disapprobation of independence, and that under the eye of Washington and his army."

At this period, he says, "the other assistants now went to their respective friends in the country." For himself, he writes :

"My family were at such a distance and in such a part of the country, that I could not with any degree of safety visit them. I therefore remained in the city, to visit the sick, baptise children, bury the dead, and afford what support I could to the remains of our poor flock, who were much dispirited ; for several, especially of the poorer sort, had it not in their power to leave the city."

After the church was closed, he continues, "rebel officers sent to me for the keys of the Churches, that their Chaplains might preach in them," which requests he "peremptorily refused," letting them know that "if they would use the Churches they must break the gates and doors to get in." He then took the keys into his own keeping lest the sextons should "be tampered with," for "I could not bear the thought that their seditious and rebellious effusions should be poured out in our Churches." When these requisitions were repeated with threats, he answered that "I did what I knew to be my duty, and that I would adhere to it, be the consequences what they would." Whereupon they desisted, though if they had been at all urgent or inclined to make trouble they could easily have opened the doors. The fact that the three spacious buildings stood unmolested all this while shows that the fears of Mr. Inglis were exaggerated. There was evidently a power in the city which respected the Corporation of Trinity and would not allow interference with the recognized administration. When Mr. Inglis withdrew to

Flushing, the committee debated the propriety of seizing him, and concluded not to do so. Notwithstanding his own impression, there seems to have been a decided disposition averse to personal assault on him. We may take this as evidence of the respect and favor in which the Church was held in the city, and the common belief in the worth and sincerity of its ministers.

Upon the evacuation of Boston by the British, Washington at once turned his thoughts to securing the safety of New York. Addressing himself seriously to the defence of the place, he ordered 13,800 militia for that purpose, with a flying camp of ten thousand more. The city, however, swarmed with loyalists, who, also, were very demonstrative on Long Island; while Tryon, as we have seen, watched all his movements from Sandy Hook. A part of the British army, long expected, reached the Hook June 28th, and the commander, Lord Howe, established his quarters upon Staten Island. When Washington received the Declaration of Independence, the troops were paraded and that immortal instrument was read. The orders of the day said :

"The General hopes that this important event will serve as a fresh incentive to every officer and soldier to act with fidelity and courage, as knowing that now the peace and safety of his country depend, under God, solely on the success of our arms, and that he is now in the service of a State possessed of sufficient power to reward his merit and to advance him to the highest honors of a free country."

The same evening the statue of George III., in Bowling Green, was torn down. By the middle of August all the British forces had arrived, numbering about twenty-four thousand men, to meet which Washington had about twenty thousand, though only about eleven thousand were fit for duty.

The circumstances of the attack by the British, August

27th, the defeat of the Americans in the battle of Long Island, and the withdrawal of the troops, are too well known to need repetition in this place. The loss of the Americans in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was upwards of 2000, but the retreat was a masterly manœuvre, executed with success.

When it became apparent that Lord Howe intended to surround and capture New York, preparations were made for its evacuation. Sparks says :

“ All agreed that the town would not be tenable if it should be bombarded ; and it was manifest, that this might be done at any moment. Some were for destroying the city at once and leaving it a waste, from which the enemy could derive no benefit. As an argument for this procedure, it was said two thirds of the property belonged to Tories.”¹

A middle course, however, was pursued, and nine thousand men were stationed at King's Bridge. But the British ships took position in the East River above the city and ascended the Hudson to the heights of Bloomingdale. September 15th, Howe, moving from Staten Island, landed a division led by General Clinton at Kip's Bay, under the fire of forty-two gun-ships and frigates. Washington was at Harlem, and, hearing the cannonade, he hastened to the scene only to find the troops retreating without firing a shot. At the risk of his own life he sought to rally the men, but all his efforts failed, and his regiments retreated to Harlem Plains. Putnam, who commanded in the city, retreated with difficulty, and nearly all the heavy guns, baggage, provisions, and stores were left behind. Washington went into camp that night on Harlem Heights and New York was in the hands of the British, who held it until its evacuation at the close of the war in 1783. It was an important but somewhat bloodless victory for the Eng-

¹ Sparks's *Writings of George Washington*, i., 197.

lish, costing less than a hundred men in killed and wounded, while the Americans lost only about sixty. General Howe was knighted for his performance, but for the time prudently contented himself with eyeing the position of Washington, which was then too strong to be attacked.

Lieutenant-Governor Cadwallader Colden lived to hear of the capture of New York, but died September 28, 1776, at Flushing, at the ripe age of eighty-nine years.¹ Much of his rule was nominal, especially during the absence of Tryon, in 1775. He was true to his convictions and consistently did what he deemed his duty in connection with both Church and State. By his death Trinity Parish lost a valuable advocate and friend.

Upon the occupation of the city by the royal forces, Mr. Inglis returned and resumed his duties. He found the church and chapels safe, though the town presented a melancholy appearance, being deserted and pillaged. His house had been plundered and his losses amounted to £100 sterling. On Wednesday, he opened "one of the Churches" and "solemnized divine service," when "all the inhabitants gladly attended, and joy was lighted up in every countenance on the restoration of public worship; for very few remained but such as were members of our Church. Each"—but how unfounded was the hope—"con-

¹ The son of the Rev. Alexander Colden, minister of Dunse, Scotland, he was nevertheless born in Ireland, February 7, 1687, being educated at the University of Glasgow with reference to the Church. He afterwards studied medicine and found his way to Philadelphia, in 1710. He married Alice Christy at Kelso, on November 11, 1713, and came to New York in 1718, where, being favored by Governor Hunter, he concluded to remain. He became a member of Burnet's Council and had a large farm in Ulster County and studied botany, maintaining considerable correspondence with learned men abroad. He wrote *The History of the Five Indian Nations*, published by Bradford in 1727, and later some philosophical theses, full of original ideas and profound thought. He was Lieutenant-Governor from 1761 to his death, and was the first New Yorker to achieve a European reputation. He was a devout Christian and as early as 1724 a communicant of Trinity Church. See *The Colden Family*, by Dr. Purple.

gratulated himself and others on the prospect of returning peace and security."

Indeed, Mr. Inglis took a very cheerful view of the situation at this time, making the assertion that

"the Church of England has lost none of its members by the rebellion as yet—none, I mean, whose departure from it can be deemed a loss ; on the contrary, its own members are more attached to it than ever. And even the sober and more rational among dissenters—for they are not all equally violent and frantic—look with reverence and esteem on the part which church people here have acted. I have not a doubt but, with the blessing of Providence, his Majesty's arms will be successful, and finally crush this unnatural rebellion."

Mr. Inglis does not complain of the treatment of the church beyond the particular things specified, but a writer on Long Island not only says that the churches are shut, but the prayer-books burned.¹ Of this matter there seems to be no further account, and the burning of books was perhaps a rhetorical embellishment. Under Washington, it would appear, all places of worship were duly respected, though when the British army again took possession the Dutch church was used for barracks and a stable.

The situation regarded as so hopeful by Mr. Inglis suddenly changed. Upon the capture of New York by the British forces, that terrible conflagration occurred, with the details of which we are familiar to this day.

The conflagration justified the most glowing descriptions composed at the time. It began in a Whitehall grog-shop, and a strong gale blowing from the south, soon gave indication that the better portion of the town was doomed. The troops, the sailors from the fleet, and citizens of all

¹ Extract of a letter dated Staten Island, August 17, 1776 : "The episcopal churches in New-York are all shut up, the prayer books burned, and the Ministers scattered abroad, in this and neighboring provinces. It is now the Puritans' high holiday season and they enjoy it with rapture all over the Continent."—*Upcott Collection of Newspaper Cuttings*, New York Historical Society, iv., 383.

degrees gave battle to the flames, which continued to rage until they had swept away nearly all the buildings between Broad Street and the North River almost as high as the City Hall, and from thence all the houses between Broadway and the North River as far as King's College. Cinders were carried in advance high in the heavens by the powerful breeze, and we read that long before the main fire reached Trinity Church, that large, ancient, and venerable edifice was in flames, which baffled every effort to suppress them. The steeple, which was 140 feet high, the upper part wood, and placed on an elevated situation, resembled a vast pyramid of fire, exhibiting a grand and awful spectacle. Several women and children perished in the fire; their shrieks, joined to the roaring of the flames, the crash of falling houses, and the wide-spread ruin which everywhere appeared, formed a scene of horror great beyond description, which was heightened by the darkness of the night. Besides Trinity Church, the rector's house, the Charity School, the old Lutheran church, and many other fine buildings were consumed. St. Paul's Church and King's College were directly in the line of fire, but saved with very great difficulty. After raging about ten hours, the fire was extinguished between ten and eleven o'clock A.M.

One writer says that Trinity was set on fire in several places, alleging that this was done by the enemies of the Church,¹ whereas, as stated, it was done by the cinders blown in advance of the main fire, which came near destroying St. Paul's Chapel. All sorts of suspicions and

¹ Extract of a letter dated New-York, September 23, 1776: "The city was set on fire in four different places at the same time. Poor Trinity Church, a principal object of Republican, Independent Malice was set on fire in three places."—*The Middlesex Journal and Evening Advertiser*, Nov. 9, 1776.

Extract of a letter dated New-York, September 27th: "Early in the morning of the 21st instant the City of New-York was set on fire. . . . About 1200

charges were entertained, but the investigation proved that they were unfounded and that the fire was accidental.¹

David Grim in his account of the fire says that

"TRINITY CHURCH, being burned was occasioned by the flakes of the fire that fell on the S side of the roof. The southerly winds fanned those flakes of fire, in a short time to an amazing blaze, it soon became out of the Human power to extinguish the same ; The roof of this noble Edifice was so steep that no person could go on it.

"ST. PAUL'S CHURCH ; was in the like perilous situation. The roof being flat, with a balustrade on the eves ; a number of the citizens went on the same, and extinguished the flakes of fire as they fell on the roof. Thus happily was this beautiful Church saved from the destruction of this dreadful fire [which] threatened the ruin thereof, and that of the whole city."²

The number of houses destroyed was four hundred and ninety-three. In the excitement the Loyalists suffered as well as the Republicans.³

houses are destroyed which has reduced many very respectable citizens, who had lived in the most comfortable affluence, to a state of extreme indigence. That venerable pile, Trinity Church, was set on fire in three places ; the church corporation sustains a loss of 40,000*l.* by the catastrophe."—*The Middlesex Journal and Evening Advertiser*, Nov. 19, 1776.

¹ The following offers a fair sample of a class of representations put out at the time, being quite worthy of the period of the "Negro Plot." "During this complicated Scene of Devastation and Distress, at which the most savage Heart might relent, several Persons were discovered with large Bundles of Matches, dipped in melted Rosin and Brimstone, and attempting to set Fire to the Houses. A New-England Man, who had a Captains Commission under the Continental Congress, and in their Service, was seized with these dreadful Implements of ruin—on being searched, the sum of 500*l.* was found upon him. General ROBERTSON rescued two of those Incendiaries from the enraged Populace, who had otherwise consigned them to the Flames, and reserved them for the Hand of deliberate Justice. One Wright White a Carpenter, was observed to cut the Leather Buckets which conveyed Water—he also wounded, with a Cutlass, a woman who was very active in handing water. This provoked the Spectators to such a degree, that they instantly hung him up. One of those Villains set fire to the College, and was seized ; many others were detected in the like Crime, and secured."—*The New-York Gazette*, Sept. 30, 1776.

² *New York Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1870, p. 275.

³ David Grim in an account of the fire written for the New York Historical Society says : "There being very few inhabitants in the city at that time, and many of



The ruins of Trinity Church after the great fire in 1776.

323001	323011	323021	323031
323041	323051	323061	323071
323081	323091	323101	323111
323121	323131	323141	323151
323161	323171	323181	323191
323201	323211	323221	323231
323241	323251	323261	323271
323281	323291	323301	323311
323321	323331	323341	323351
323361	323371	323381	323391
323401	323411	323421	323431
323441	323451	323461	323471
323481	323491	323501	323511
323521	323531	323541	323551
323561	323571	323581	323591
323601	323611	323621	323631
323641	323651	323661	323671
323681	323691	323701	323711
323721	323731	323741	323751
323761	323771	323781	323791
323801	323811	323821	323831
323841	323851	323861	323871
323881	323891	323901	323911
323921	323931	323941	323951
323961	323971	323981	323991

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In the midst of these distresses and disasters, Dr. Auchmuty returned to his parish, but only after the endurance of trials and sufferings which cost him his life. On the re-occupation of the city by the royal forces, he sought permission to pass through the American lines, and go back to his parish; the permission was refused, but, not daunted thereby, he determined to make the attempt to return without it. By night, and on foot, and concealing himself in the woods, he succeeded, after a painful journey of a week, in accomplishing his object. Dr. Auchmuty graphically described the state of affairs on his return, in a letter to the secretary of the Venerable Society.

The abstract of the proceedings of that Society for 1777 states :

“The Society have been favoured with one letter from their faithful and much esteemed correspondent, the Rev. Dr. Auchmuty, dated New York, November 20, 1776, in which he acquaints them that upon his arrival at that once delightful, but now unhappy city, he found everything in great confusion. Upon searching the rubbish of his late venerable church, and his large and elegant house, he could find only a few trifles, of little or no value, except the church plate and his own. Providence having preserved him two chapels, he begins to have divine service again regularly carried on, after a suspension of near three months, and his people begin to flock in, so that they will soon be filled. The several churches in that city and the neighboring governments are converted to the worst of purposes, and the Society’s missionaries are either in jail or sent back into the country. His wife and daughters are still in the hands of the rebels, and he knows not when he shall be able to obtain their freedom. The losses he has himself sustained by fire and cruel devastations amount already to £2500 sterling, and to the

those were afraid to venture at night in the streets, fearing of being taken up as suspicious persons.

“An instance to my knowledge occurred, a Mr. White, a decent citizen and house carpenter, rather too violent Loyalist, and latterly had addicted himself to liquor; Was that night of the fire, hanged on a tavern signpost, at the corner of Cherry and Rosevelt Streets; several of the citizens were sent to the provost guard for examination, some of them remained there two and three days, until they could give satisfactory evidence of their Loyalty.”—*New York Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1870, p. 276.

loss sustained by his church to the amount of £25,000 sterling must be added also that of the quit rents, which the tenants, as they are burnt out, are unable to pay. The Doctor adds that as soon as public affairs are settled such methods will be adopted as shall be recommended by their superiors for procuring some assistance from this part of the world in order to rebuild the church, the schools and parsonage house ; and they flatter themselves, their application will be attended with success." (Pp. 69, 70.)

The Society later says :

"Dr. Inglis's second letter contains an account of the great loss sustained by the corporation of Trinity Church in the above dreadful catastrophe, to the amount of 24000*l.* sterling, and of his own private loss also at Kingston, from whence a body of British troops being fired at in going up Hudson's River, and thereby provoked to burn the town, Dr. Inglis lost houses to the value of 11100*l.*"¹

The following account of Trinity Church as it stood in 1775, and as it was when in ruins after the conflagration of September 21, 1776, is of special interest as being that of an eye-witness.

Dunlap wrote his *History of New York for Schools* cast in the form of dialogue, the fashionable form at that period.

There is a vignette at the head of Chapter XVIII., giving a view of the ruins of Trinity Church. The dialogue, which is between an uncle and his nephews, proceeds as follows :

"*Un.* In our last walk through Broadway, I promised you some account of the old Trinity Church, which was burnt in the great fire of 1776. I here present you with a picture of the ruins as they stood until after the Revolution. This edifice, frequently called in the old records of our city, 'the English Church,' was built, says Smith, the historian, 'in 1696, and afterward enlarged in 1737. It stands,' says he, writing in 1757, 'very pleasantly upon the banks of Hudson's River.' The present Trinity Church occupies the same ground.

"*Phil.* I am sure, Uncle, it is not near the river.

"*John.* There is Lumber Street, Greenwich, Washington, and West Streets, between its cemetery and the river.

¹ Abstract of the proceedings of the S. P. G. for 1788, p. 44.

" *Un.* Yet the scite of the present church was, in 1757, on the banks of the river. Smith continues, 'and has a large cemetery on each side, inclosed in the front, by a painted pale fence. Before it a long walk is railed off, from the Broadway, the pleasantest street of any in the whole town.' This walk, during the occupancy of the city by the English as enemies, was called 'the Mall,' and every morning there paraded the troops destined as guards for the different posts of the garrison; the 'main guard' being the City hall in Wall Street. In the evening during summer, 'the Mall' was the fashionable walk for ladies and gentlemen, while in the church-yard a band of military musick turned the thoughts of the promenaders far from the dead within the palings, or the ruins which stood as a monument of the horrors of war. Read what the historian gives as the dimensions of Trinity church, in 1757.

" *Fohn.* 'One hundred and forty-eight feet long, including the tower and chancel, and seventy-two feet in breadth. The steeple is one hundred and seventy-five feet in height. The church is within ornamented beyond any place of the kind amongst us. The head of the chancel is adorned with an altar-piece, and opposite to it, at the other end of the building, is the organ. The tops of the pillars which support the galleries are decked with the gilt busts of angels winged. From the ceiling are suspended two glass branches, and on the walls hang the arms of some of its principal benefactors. The alleys are paved with flat stones.'

" *Un.* Such was Trinity church when I saw it in 1775; and that time its pictures and winged angels made an impression on my mind never to be effaced. On 1777, I saw it as in the little picture I gave you."¹

A picture of the ruins of the church was painted by Thomas Barrow in water colors and presented to the Corporation in 1841 by his son. This picture is fairly well done and measures about fourteen by twenty-five inches. The sketch given in this volume follows the picture by Barrow. It will be seen that the demolition of the edifice was complete.

On Sunday, September 22d, the day after the fire, divine service was held in St. Paul's, which for many years served the purpose of parish church. The preacher on

¹ *A History of New York for Schools*, by William Dunlap, 211.

this occasion was the Rev. Thomas Lewis O'Beirne, chaplain to Admiral Lord Howe, and the sermon was printed at the request of the congregation.¹ The text was from Jer. xii., 15 :

"And it shall come to pass, after that I have plucked them out, I will return, and have compassion on them, and will bring them again, every man to his heritage, and every man to his land."

The chaplain, who was a fervid and warm-hearted Irishman, began thus :

"Was it then reserved for a Stranger to your Persons, and your Altars, to address you on this happy Restoration of your Public Worship? This solemn Re-establishment of your Religious Assemblies? Was it to have been the good Fortune of One, to whom you were unknown, but by your Sufferings, to be among the first of the Ministers of God to bring the Comfort and Consolation of his Word to an afflicted and persecuted People?"²

He proceeds to draw a graphic picture of the troubles of the time :

"Who that was Witness of the cruel and disastrous Deed of the Night before last, could promise himself that you should be assembled this Day in the House of God, to praise Him for your wonderful Deliverance? Who could have hoped that this Temple would remain a Monument of the returning Favour of Heaven, amidst the Horror of

¹ "*Just* PUBLISHED,
And to be sold at the Bible and Crown, in Hanover-
Square, . . . Price ONE SHILLING :

A SERMON,
Preached at St. Paul's, New York, Sept. 22, 1776.
Being the first Sunday after the English Churches were
opened on GENERAL HOWE's taking Possession of the
Town; and the Day subsequent to the Attempt to
destroy New-York by Fire.

By the Reverend Mr. O'BEIRNE, Chaplain
to the Right Honourable Lord Viscount HOWE.
Published by particular Desire of the Congregation."

— *The New-York Gazette*, Oct. 21, 1776.

² P. 5.

the Ruins through which you must have passed to approach it? Which of you could have said to himself, that he should see those Doors opened once more for the Reception of the Faithful, *tho' as yet but as the Shaking of an Olive Tree, and the Gleaning Grapes when the Vintage is done?* Or hear these Walls, so long silent and unfrequented, filled again with the Praises of him to whose Name you had raised them? Is not this the Lord's Doing? Is not this our God for *whom we have waited? We have waited for him, he hath saved us, and we will be glad and rejoice in his Salvation.*"¹

One more extract :

"This has never been, and I am confident never will be, the Pulpit of Contention or Strife. No *Prophets prophesying Lies in the Name of the Lord who sent them not*, shall ever turn it into a Stage for Sedition. The Words of Truth and Life will never be perverted here in promoting Violence and Bloodshed, under Pretence of consulting the Interests of the God of Peace; to cause the Religion of the lowly, mild, and meek Jesus to speak the Language of Ambition, Slaughter, and Revenge; or to consecrate and deliver out in his Name the Sword that is to be plunged by his Followers into each others Breasts." ² (P. 7.)

The date of the rector's return to his charge is not at hand. But though he resumed his duties, his heart was broken, and the hand of death was soon to lay him low. He preached an appropriate sermon at St. Paul's soon after he came back. This sermon is preserved in the original manuscript, presented to the Corporation of

¹ P. 6.

² For an account of this able preacher and interesting historical personage, see Drake's *Biographical Dictionary*, and Croly's *Life of George IV.*, 102. Thomas Lewis O'Beirne, born in 1748, of a Roman Catholic family, at Longford, Ireland, and educated at St. Omer's for the priesthood, renounced the Roman Catholic faith, took orders in the Church of England, and shone in the brightest circles of the society of his day. Distinguished for his literary acquirements, his varied accomplishments, and his eloquence, he was sent out to America as chaplain and secretary to Lord Howe, and returned, bringing with him the only laurels of the conciliatory expedition. He was afterwards sent into Ireland with Lord Fitzwilliam, on his fatal appointment to the Vice Royalty, and was subsequently raised to the peerage and made Bishop of Meath. Such was the man who for a brief space appeared on the troubled horizon of the West, and lent a helping hand to Inglis and spoke earnest and comforting words to his terrified flock at one of the most distressing moments in the history of our parish.

Trinity Church in 1870, by Richard T. Auchmuty, Esq., one of his descendants.

Dr. Auchmuty prefaced his sermon with the following address :

"My dear Bn. Before I enter upon my discourse permit me to congratulate you upon your again enjoying the invaluable blessing of offering up your public prayers and praises to your merciful God agreeable to yr consciences, & the Duty and Loyalty you owe to the best of princes.

"When I reflect upon the dreadful scene of misery & Destruction this city & many of its inhabitants have undergone—when I reflect upon the banishment & cruel usage that many of his majys loyal subjects have suffered for some time past, my heart is filled with grief, the friendly Tear comes to my assistance & my steadfast trust & confidence in my God is my only comfort.

"Both my duty & my inclination prompted me to return to you, tho' at the risque of my life, & to participate in yr joy for yr deliverance from the cruel hands of your enimes. I have happily succeeded in my attempt & have once more the pleasure of seeing many of my much esteemed friends & parishioners (wd to God I could say the whole of them); for wh blessing I now return my most ardent & grateful thanks to my God & yr God."

His text was from Exodus xiv., 13: "Fear ye not, stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord." The sermon shows faith and resolution; but it, no doubt, excited hopes that were destined never to be fulfilled, at least in the sense intended by the preacher. This being the last of his sermons now accessible, we may note a few of his points.

After declaring that to be wholly unaffected by the distresses and misfortunes of our fellow-creatures, and to be unconcerned for a "bleeding country" would be to deserve "the imputation of stoical stupidity," he passed on to notice the "exhortation to courage" contained in the text which he dwelt upon and illustrated, saying :

"Since the race is not always to the swift, nor the Battle to the strong, but time & chance happens to both, the best way to secure further success in this time of anarchy & confusion is to fix our dependence upon the Father of Lights wth w^m is no variableness, neither shadow of turning."

Continuing, he says :

"We have already seen the salvation of the Lord in our deliverance from a worse than Egyptian bondage. But in order to insure further success it is not eno' that we glory in being xtians and protestants & members of a pure & apostolic Church, but we must live & act agreeably to our profession, and by our lives & conversation become deserving of still further protection & success."

He, therefore, exhorts the congregation to emulate the example of the ancient people of God,

"for are we not encompassed all around by our enemies? Are not many of our nearest & dearest Friends—our poor defenceless women & children torn from our arms, many of them naked & in want of the comforts & conveniences of Life, flying from one mountain & cavern to another for protection & safety ; for neither the Tears of the tender sex, nor the lamentations of weeping children can soften the savage breasts of our enemies into tenderness & compassion ; & unless the visible hand of God is exerted in their behalf thousands must soon perish this winter ensuing for want of the necessaries of life."

The preacher, however, relieves his mind from the effect of these considerations, by what has already taken place.

"Has not," he asks, "His hand already visibly appeared in our behalf? Was not this ruinous city once our boast & our glory but lately in the possession of our enemies, but now thro' the bravery of his Majy's forces & the interposition of Heaven again restored to us? Was not a great part of it destroyed by Fire, kindled by vile Incendiaries, & our ancient & venerable temple the work of our forefathers reduced to ashes? Yet even in the midst of this great calamity the hand of God was visibly displayed in the miraculous preservation of what remains, & especially this neat & elegant edifice, tho' in the midst of the devouring flames wch threatened it with instant ruin."

Therefore, he says,

"Let us now praise God that we have still a Temple left, in which we can perform our Devotions according to the Liturgy of the Church o England & serve our God in the beauty of holiness."

He concludes his discourse by invoking the divine blessing upon the king and "his Royal Highness the prince of Wales & every branch of the royal Family," whose health and strength he would have continued, with "length of days with Wisdom, righteousness and goodness" to the latest posterity.

The sermon was thoroughly loyal in every line, and no doubt gave much satisfaction to the hearers. The people, now in a jubilant mood, notwithstanding the ruined condition of the city, were looking forward with hopefulness to a speedy and successful termination of the struggle and the full re-establishment of the Royal Government. They were destined, however, to be disappointed, though the good rector was not permitted to witness the complete failure of the predictions contained in his sermon.

Mr. Inglis having resumed his duties in connection with the parish turned his attention to his wife and children, who were far inside of the American lines up the North River. The *Heath Papers* show that he obtained a pass for this purpose ¹ and went up to Verplanck's Point,

¹ "NEW YORK, Dec. 7, 1776.

"SIR.

"The Bearer the Revd. Mr. Inglis and the other Gentlemen with him go up the North River with a Flag of Truce to bring down their familys as Mr. Inglis is a particular Friend of mine and has Shewn great kindness and humanity to the Prisoners. I shall esteem it as a favor if you 'll forward him with as little trouble as the Service will admit of.

"I am Your Most Obdt

"Hble Servt

"RBT MAGAW COLE

"5th Pen Batt.

"To the Commanding Officers on the Continental Service at the Posts on the North River."—[*Heath Papers*, Mass. Hist. Society.]

where he addressed a long letter to "his Excellency," General Heath, which it seems proper to give in full.

"VERPLANK'S POINT, Decem. 11, 1776.

"SIR :

"Majors Huntington & Pullen favoured me with a Visit to Day, & gave me Information concerning the Mode of Procedure in accomplishing the Business on which I came here, (& with which your Excellency is now acquainted) which I was not so fortunate as to know before. After the best Enquiry at New York, I understood that the Members of the Convention at Fishkill were the principal Persons to whom I should apply for Leave to bring Home my Family & Furniture, but could not learn what Gentleman was vested with the Chief Military Command at Peekskill. Even after I came here & was told that Your Excellency commanded at that place, I was assured that it would be quite sufficient You should see my Letter to the Honourable Convention, without any particular application to Yourself.

"The above Gentlemen however gave me to understand that the Management & Transaction of such Matters is committed to You. This being the Case, I could not be satisfied with my own Conduct till I had assured Your Excellency that my Omission of addressing You on the Occasion did not proceed from any Want of Deference or Respect to You ; but purely from not knowing the Steps that were proper to be taken ; & I flatter myself that this will serve as an apology for the Omission.

"The Gentlemen above mentioned intimated that some Difficulty in suffering my Family to come away might arise from an apprehension that they would give some Information respecting the Country ; to which I shall only say, that I am perfectly willing Your Excellency should order an Oath of Secrecy to be administered to those of them who are come to the Years of Discretion ; & I here solemnly promise on the Word of a Gentleman & a Christian that, so far from desiring them to violate their Oath, I shall inculcate on them the Sacredness of an Oath in general, & their Duty to observe this one in particular. Mrs. Untill was lately permitted by General Dickinson to come from Brunswick to New York, on taking such an Oath, & I believe she has religiously observed it. Such Precautions are certainly prudent, tho I am of Opinion that there is much better Intelligence conveyed to both Armies in this unhappy contest, than could be given or communicated by Women. My Family have been absent from Home near fifteen

Months—I am distressed beyond Expression at the Thought of their being absent another Winter ; & bringing them Home is, believe me, the only Object I have in View, without the least Desire or Intention of interfering with either military or political matters.

“ Women have Liberty to remove with their Children, Servants & Effects from New York ; I flattered myself that the Convention & Officers in the Continental Service would grant a similar Indulgence to such Women as would chuse to move from the Country to New York ; & I cherished the Hope of such an Indulgence to my Family the rather, as I had been instrumental myself in assisting some Families to remove from New York to their friends who were engaged in the Continental Cause. The Brave are no less distinguished by their Humanity than their Valour ; & I am persuaded of You ; Sir—to use the Words of Alexander commonly called the Great—‘ That You do not make War on Women or Captives.’ If You are a Husband & a Father, your own Bosom will tell You what mine must feel at this Time, by the Absence of a Wife & three helpless Infants so long, & on the prospect of leaving them among Strangers in such calamitous Times. Place Yourself in my Situation one Moment, & I only appeal to the Feelings of Your Heart to decide on my Case. Yet far be it from me to desire You would in the least depart from what You conceive to be Your Duty : I only request that after taking such Precautions as Prudence dictates to prevent Injury to Yourself, You would permit the Innocent, the Feeble & Helpless to take Sanctuary in the Arms of those who love & would willingly protect them.

“ The Distance at which my Family is at present, is so great, & there will be so many Difficulties in removing them, that if I had Liberty now to remove them it would not be possible for them to be here in less than *ten Days*. This Circumstance makes me the more anxious that the matter should be speedily determined, as, from the advanced Season, we may expect the North River will be closed by Ice near that Time.

“ Two Gentlemen, Mr. Philip I. Livingston & Mr. John Moore, are concerned with me in the Flag of Truce & are here with the same Intention to bring Home their Families. I have read this Letter to them, & they beg that Your Excellency would consider what I say of my Case, as applicable exactly to theirs. Mr. Livingston desires me to inform You that he intends speedily to remove from this Continent to Jamaica in the West Indies where he has an estate, which makes him the more anxious to remove his Family, as he proposes to carry them with him.

"I hope You will excuse any Inacuracies that may be in this Letter, which is written in the dark Cabin of a Schooner, that is agitated by Wind and Tide.

"I have the Honour to be

"Sir,

"Your Excellency's most obedient

"& most humble Servt

"CHARLES INGLIS

"His Excellency General Heath" ¹

The rest of the correspondence is wanting, but in due time, it appears, his wife and children rejoined him to the great joy and satisfaction of all.

New York now became the headquarters of the British army in North America, and Howe took up his residence at the Kennedy House, built by a British officer of that name, near the lower part of Broadway. Subsequently Admiral Digby lived at the Beekman House, in Hanover Square, having in his charge Prince William Henry, afterward William IV. A line of intrenchments stretched across the middle of the island from river to river, while the British held about five thousand Americans as prisoners. In fact, New York was a city of prisons, the most convenient buildings, together with hulks lying in the stream, being turned into dungeons, supervised by the notorious Provost Marshal Cunningham, who a little while before had exhibited his brutality and cruelty in connection with the gallant Nathan Hale, whom he executed as a spy.

The Dutch Church in William Street was seized, the pews torn out, and a floor laid even with the gallery; and there eight hundred prisoners were confined without fuel or bedding, many of whom died from cold and starvation.

¹ The author regrets that he has been unable to collate these extracts with the originals owing to the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society being all in storage, during the erection of the new building, and the manuscripts consequently being utterly inaccessible.—April, 1898.

The Brick Church in Beekman Street was used first as a prison and then as a hospital. The Quaker and Presbyterian places of worship were turned into hospitals, and the French Church into a military storehouse. The Middle Dutch Church was stripped and crammed with three thousand prisoners; afterwards it was turned into a riding-school.¹ The horrors of the Old Sugar House form a melancholy part of Revolutionary history.

On the 15th of November, the British, under the command of Lord Percy, moved up the island, and defeating the Americans at Washington Heights and Harlem Plains, forced them to retreat into New Jersey, and thus transferred the seat of war from New York. It is unnecessary to dwell further on military operations. Indeed the condition of the city during the Revolution forms a history by itself.²

The year 1777 opened with as much cheerfulness as could be expected under the circumstances; the parish turned its thoughts to the Charity School, while Chaplain O'Beirne and the Rev. Mr. Odell delivered discourses in aid of the funds.³

No event of general interest occurred until the beginning of March, when the "Clergy of the Church of England convened in the City of New York" presented an address to the Viscount Howe, brother of the General,

¹ See *Revolutionary Incidents of Suffolk and Kings Counties*, by Henry Onderdonk, Jr., 207, *et seq.*

² See *New York City during the American Revolution*.

³ "Sunday next a Charity Sermon will be preached at St. Paul's, for the Benefit of the Charity School in this City."—*The New-York Gazette*, January 6, 1777.

"Yesterday an excellent Charity Sermon was preached at St. Paul's, by the Rev. Mr. O'BEIRNE, for the Benefit of the Charity-School in this City, and on Sunday next, another Charity Sermon will be preached at St. George's, for the like laudable Purpose."—*Ibid.*, January 13, 1777.

"Yesterday an excellent Charity Sermon was preached at St. George's Chapel, by the Rev. Mr. ODELL, when a handsome Collection was made for the Use of the Charity School in this City."—*Ibid.*, January 20, 1777.

who was then absent. Lamenting the "infatuation" of their fellow-subjects, they say :

"Determined to hazard the Loss of every Thing rather than violate our religious Principles, or deviate from that Allegiance We justly owed to His Majesty, not only as our rightful Sovereign, but as supreme Head on Earth of the Church of England, WE endeavoured to preserve a steady Conduct, and to adhere to that Line which was pointed out to us by our Conscience, and which the Duties of our Function required. The Lessons of Peace, Unanimity and mutual Benevolence, so strongly inculcated by our holy Religion, were the constant Subjects of our public and private Exhortations. Taught by the Word of God, and by that Church in the Ministry of which We serve, to 'honour Kings and obey Magistrates,' We could not disregard those Doctrines ourselves, nor forbear to instill them into others.—Such were our Principles and Sentiments ; WE studied to preserve a Consistency between them and our Practice : And WE gratefully rejoice in the public and generous Testimony which our Brethren in England have given us that our Conduct has been thought deserving of their Approbation."¹

The time had come when another great and sad change was to take place in the condition of the parish. The Rev. Dr. Auchmuty passed away on Tuesday, March 4th, at the early age of fifty-six, after twenty-nine years of faithful service. Doubtless his own losses and those of the Church by the great fire affected his health, and though for a time he revived, a severe cold taken at a funeral induced a fever which resulted in death.² The day before he was stricken down, February 25th, he officiated at a wedding, this being apparently his last recorded official act.³ His last sermon was preached in St. Paul's

¹ *The New-York Gazette*, March 3, 1777.

² Mr. Inglis, writing to the Secretary of the Society, says :—"The persecutions and hardships which Dr. Auchmuty underwent from the rebels, contributed much to carry him off also. He died the 4th inst., and left his family much distressed in their circumstances, having lost the principal part of his estate (consisting of houses) by the fire which consumed about the fourth of the whole city last September."—*New York Convention MSS.*, ii., 613.

³ "Last Monday Evening, Lieut. John Coghlan, of the 7th, or English Fusileers, was married by the Revd. Dr. Auchmuty, to Miss Margaret Moncrieffe, only Daughter to Thomas Moncrieffe, Esq."—*The New-York Gazette*, March 3, 1777.

Chapel, February 23d, and in the chancel of this noble edifice, built under his inspection, his remains were laid to rest. His funeral sermon was preached by Inglis, March 9th, and published by Gaine.¹ It is a feeling and appreciative discourse, marked by evidences of learning and research. Beginning by a reference to the disasters which swept over portions of Africa in the third century, when Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, endeavored to fortify the members of his flock against the fear of death by telling them that the day of their decease would be the day of their entrance into Paradise, Mr. Inglis endeavored to adjust the subject, "Our Conversation is in Heaven," to the then existing condition of things in New York, so overwhelmed by calamity, which had now been rendered all the more heavy

"by the Death of our worthy and excellent Rector—in whom the Public has lost a Member, You a faithful Pastor, and I a sincere, affectionate Friend."

"My Intimacy and Connection with him for nearly twelve Years, enabled me to know him well ; and I can truly say, I scarcely ever knew a Man possessed of a more humane, compassionate or benevolent Heart. Often have I seen him melt into Tears at the Sight of Distress in others ; and the distressed never sought his Aid in Vain."

Turning more directly to the congregation, he continued :

"For nearly thirty Years you have enjoyed his Ministry—indeed ever since he entered that Sacred Office till the Day of his Death ; And the Respect shewed to him, and Distinction conferred on him, by You, as well as the flourishing State of these Congregations when our present Troubles broke out are incontestible Proofs of the Fidelity and Assiduity with which he discharged the Duties of his Station."

Again :

"Unshaken in his Loyalty to our gracious Sovereign, and his Attach-

¹ "A Sermon On Philip. iii., 20, 21. Occasioned by the death of Samuel Auchmuty, D.D. Rector of Trinity Church New-York. Preached March 9, 1777, By Charles Inglis A.M."

ment to our happy Constitution, he spurned the Voice of popular Applause, where Conscience forbid him to approve of it."

Appended to the sermon in the form of a note is a succinct history of the parish down to the date of the rector's death.

On the same day that Mr. Inglis delivered his sermon on Dr. Auchmuty, Mr. Moore addressed his congregation from the words "And Elisha saw it, and he cried, My father, my father, the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof: and he saw him no more." The sermon was every way unlike that by Inglis; the preacher avoided political allusions, and showed a gentle temper and that considerateness which prepared him to acquiesce in the results of the Revolution when the contest was finally over.¹

With the following interesting extract from *The New-York Gazette* we close the present chapter.

"On Tuesday the fourth Instant, departed this Life, in the *fifty-sixth* Year of his Age, the Reverend SAMUEL AUCHMUTY, D.D., Rector of Trinity Church in this City,—a Gentleman greatly beloved and respected.

¹ "A Sermon occasioned by the death of the Revd. Dr. Auchmuty, Rector of Trinity Church, in the City of New York, preached March 9, 1777, by Benjamin Moore, A.M., published by Desire, New-York, printed by Hugh Gainé, at the Bible and Crown, in Hanover Square."

The following is the advertisement:

"Just Published, [PRICE ONE SHILLING.]

A

SERMON

OCCASIONED BY THE DEATH

OF THE

Revd. Dr. AUCHMUTY,

Rector of Trinity Church, in the City of New-York,

Preached MARCH 9, 1777,

By BENJAMIN MOORE, A.M.

PUBLISHED BY DESIRE."

—*The New-York Gazette*, March 24, 1777.

“He was born at Boston in the Province of Massachusetts-Bay, and educated at the College of Cambridge, in the same Colony, where he took the usual Degrees in the liberal Arts. He devoted himself early to the sacred Ministry, and soon after his Ordination, was fixed as Assistant Minister of Trinity Church, and Catechist, in the year 1748 ; in which Stations he continued till 1764, when on the Death of the late worthy Dr. BARCLAY, he was chosen *Rector*. About this Time the Degree of *Doctor in Divinity* was conferred on him by the University of Oxford.

“During his Residence here, which was 29 Years, he discharged the Pastoral Duties of his Function with Assiduity and Fidelity ; of which, the Respect shewed to him by the Inhabitants, and the flourishing State of the Episcopal Congregations in this city when our public Troubles broke out, are incontestible Proofs.

“Firmly and conscientiously attached to the Doctrines and Discipline of the Church of England, he was indefatigable in promoting her Interests ; yet without any of that narrow Spirit of Bigotry, which is the Disgrace of Religion. His sentiments were generous and enlarged, which led him to prize merit wherever he found it ; and this Disposition and Conduct will ever command the Approbation of the rational and virtuous Part of Mankind, and succeed where Bigotry will assuredly fail.

“Christianity never appears more amiable or winning, than when accompanied with that easy, tempered Chearfulness which Rectitude and Benevolence of Heart naturally inspire. In this he greatly excelled, and it gave him many Advantages to serve the Cause of Religion.

“Few Men ever possessed a more humane, benevolent and compassionate Heart. He often melted into Tears at the Sight of Distress, which never sought his Aid in vain. He was a liberal sympathising Friend to the Indigent and Afflicted, a zealous Promoter of every Institution or Scheme that could contribute to the Welfare of Mankind, and was never more happy than when alleviating the Misfortunes of others, or employed in some Office of Benevolence or Friendship.

“Such a Temper and Disposition must necessarily endear him to his intimate Acquaintances, and enable him to shine in the more tender Connections of social Life. He was indeed a sincere, warm Friend, a most affectionate, tender Husband and Father.

“Those who were unfriendly with the Church of England, and to the British Constitution, could hardly be well affected to him, considering his Station and Principles. Yet no Man had a more placable, forgiving Disposition under Injuries or ill Usage. He pitied those mis-

guided People ; but as for Malice, it found no Harbour in his Bosom. He practiced the Apostolic Rule—*Let not the Sun go down upon your Wrath*. During the Troubles which have involved this Country in its present Calamities, he took that Part, as may be easily supposed, which Duty, Truth and Reason pointed out. Unshaken in his Loyalty to our gracious Sovereign, and in his Attachment to the Constitution, he spurned the Breath of popular Applause where Conscience forbid him to receive it. This drew upon him much persecution ; which with the Distress he felt for the Miseries of this Country, greatly impaired his Constitution ; the Case could scarcely be otherwise with a Person of his extreme Sensibility.

“ His ill State of Health obliged him to reside in the Country the greatest Part of last Summer ; and when this City was reduced by His Majesty’s Forces in September, he applied repeatedly to the Rebels, in whose Hands he was, for leave to return, which was as often denied. This obliged him to come away privately and exposed him to such Hardships, while making his Escape, that his Constitution was reduced still lower. With Difficulty he got here ; but how he was shocked on viewing the Ruins of so great a Part of the City, consumed by the Fire in September ! Especially those of Trinity Church, that ancient and once venerable Edifice ! The Sight drew Floods of Tears from him ; and altho’ he lost, by the Fire, private Property to the Amount of some *Thousands* of Pounds, yet the Destruction of Trinity Church and of so much of the Property belonging to its Corporation, which has been estimated at £40,000, affected him much more.

“ When the King’s Troops penetrated into Jersey, his Family was set at Liberty to return. His Spirits seemed to revive, his Health to mend, and he and his Friends indulged themselves in the pleasing Expectation of Peace and Happiness at last, after struggling through so much Disquietude, Anxiety and Persecution. But alas ! these flattering Hopes were soon blasted ! His Lungs had been weakened by constant Exertion in preaching and other parochial Duties : A severe Cold which he caught at a Funeral, and could never wholly get the better of, weakened them still more, and greatly injured his Voice. On Tuesday, Feb. 25, he was seized with a Bilious Fever, which, by the Assistance of Physick, was removed in a great Measure ; yet left him exceedingly weak ; and the Disorder settling on his Lungs, finally carried him off in a few Days.

“ On his Death Bed, he behaved with that Patience, Calmness and Fortitude, which became a Christian, and which a well-grounded Hope of immortal Happiness inspires. In his last Moments he retained the

perfect Use of his Understanding and Reason ; and joined fervently in Prayer about four Hours before he expired—he died without a Struggle or a Groan !

“His Remains were interred last Thursday in the Chancel of St. Paul’s Church—a Church which was built under his Inspection, was consecrated by him to the Service of Almighty God, and where he preached his last Sermon on Sunday, Feb. 23, two Days before he was seized by his last Illness.

“Blessed are the Dead which die in the Lord ; for they rest from their Labours, and their Works do follow them.”—The New-York Gazette, March 10, 1777.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE RECTORSHIP OF DR. INGLIS: 1777-1783.

Election and Induction—Death of Hildreth, Head Master of the Charity School—Financial Difficulties of the Corporation—Insecurity of Property and Life in the City—Inglis Preaches to the “Loyal American” Corps—Marriage of Beverley Robinson and Nancy Barclay—Death of Elias Desbrosses—Kindly Relations between the Dutch and English Churches—Letters of Papinian—Baroness Riedesel’s Account of Affairs in the City—Proposal to Rebuild Trinity Church—Surrender of Lord Cornwallis—Death of Dr. Inglis’s Son—Death of Mrs. Inglis—Dr. Inglis under Attainder—Resigns his Office as Rector—Election of Rev. Benjamin Moore as his Successor—Farewell Sermon—Removal to Halifax—Subsequent History—Consecrated the First Colonial Bishop of the Church of England—Dies at Halifax, February 24, 1810.

SIXTEEN days after the death of Dr. Auchmuty, the Rev. Charles Inglis was elected to fill his place. He was the unanimous choice of the Vestry, whose names it may be of interest to place on record:

Wardens, Nathaniel Marston, Jr., and Elias Desbrosses; Vestrymen, Robert Crommeline, David Clarkson, Theophylact Bache, Adrian Renaudet, Thomas Hill, Edward Laight, Anthony Van Dam, John Charlton, Benjamin Kissam, John T. Kempe, Miles Sherbrooke, John Griffith, Gabriel H. Ludlow, James Duane, Peter Goelet, Grove Bend, Charles Shaw, Christopher Smith, James Desbrosses, Peter Van Schaick.¹

Messrs. Kemp and Bache were appointed a committee to wait upon Mr. Inglis, who was then presented to the Board, and, in their presence, accepted the rectorship.

Charles Inglis was the third son of the Rev. Archibald Inglis, an Irish clergyman. He was born A.D. 1733, in

¹ Records, i., 392.

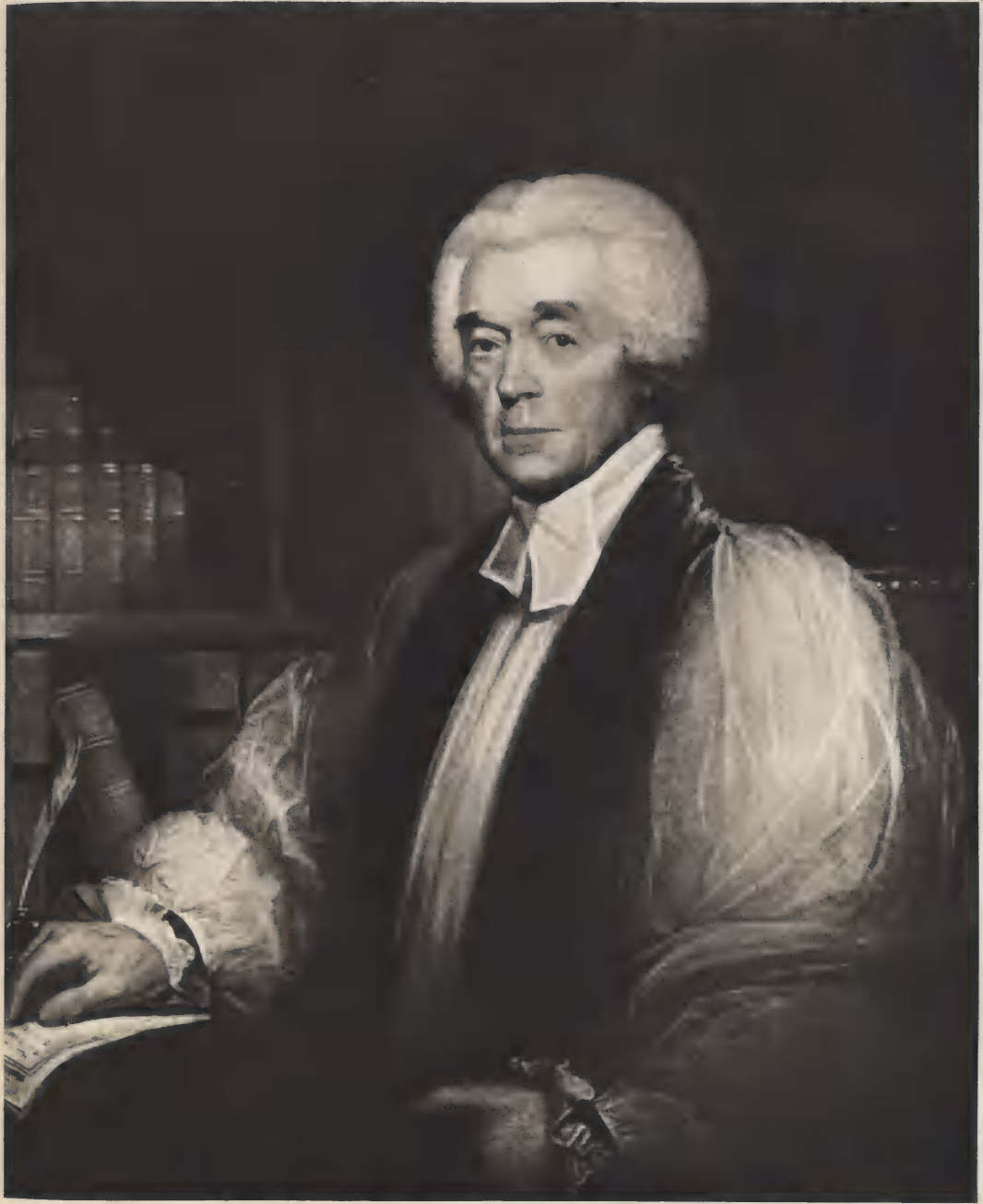
Ireland. At an early age he came to America, and from 1755 to 1758 was engaged in the work of a school-teacher at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. His thoughts having been directed to the ministry, he went to England, where, in 1759, he was ordained deacon and priest by the Bishop of London. Returning to America with an appointment from the Venerable Society as missionary at Dover in Delaware, he had charge of the parish church at that place and of three mission churches, in a population of some seven thousand souls. He then married a lady by the name of Vining, who died in 1764.

The circumstances of Mr. Inglis's election as assistant and catechist at New York, August 28, 1764, have already been stated, including his declining the position for personal and domestic reasons. It has also been shown how he accepted a second call, and became connected with the parish December 6, 1765. King's College conferred on him the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1767; a few years later he received the degree of Master of Arts from the University of Oxford, which also gave him, in 1778, that of Doctor of Divinity.

The ceremony of induction is fully and minutely described in the Records.¹ It could not be held in the parish church, then a mere ruin; it was therefore performed in the open air and in the churchyard. By mandate of Governor Tryon, the new rector, after taking the customary oaths, was conducted to what remained of the sacred edifice, and there, placing his hand upon the wall of the church, he was inducted by Elias Desbrosses, one of the Church Wardens, in presence of the assembled Vestrymen. The election and induction were acts of a single day.

On Sunday, the 6th of April following, in the after-

¹ Records, i., 399.



*The Rt. Rev. Charles Inglis, D. D.
Appointed Rector. March 20th, 1777, resigned. November 1st, 1783.
Consecrated Bishop of Nova Scotia. August 12th, 1787.*

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noon, Mr. Inglis read himself in before a congregation assembled in St. Paul's Chapel.

A letter was laid before the Board from the new Bishop of London approving their choice of a rector.

"I know Mr. Inglis to be a person of the most eminent abilities, of great judgment, integrity and piety, of unshaken Loyalty & firm perseverance in his duty ; as he has fully shown by his late exemplary behavior in the severest trials, by which he has merited the highest honours which the country has to bestow upon him."¹

The state of affairs was critical and dangerous to the last degree. As to the merits of the Revolution, people were divided in opinion, but all had chosen their side, prepared to abide the consequences. Governor Tryon no longer appears the kindly and popular man that he once was. Under cover of his letter of February 15, 1777, he sent home a copy of a declaration which the inhabitants of New York had been called upon by him to sign, under which they "in the most explicit manner disavow, renounce and disclaim" all powers, authorities and claims of Congresses, Councillors and Conventions over them.²

In a subsequent letter, that of April 21st, he quotes approvingly the opinion of the French Colonel, St. Luc, "Il faut lacher les sauvages contre les miserables Rebels, pour imposer de terreur sur les frontieres."³

At the election held April 1, 1777, nearly the entire Board of the previous year was continued in office ; David Seabury's name appearing for the first time. At a session held immediately after the election, a committee was appointed to inquire into the damage "sustained by the late fire and report their opinion thereon to the Vestry."⁴

In connection with this session there is an interesting letter to the Venerable Society, informing them of the

¹ Records, i., 400.

² *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, viii., 698.

³ *Ibid.* 707.

⁴ Records, i., 395.

death of Auchmuty and the appointment of Inglis. The former they style

"a gentleman justly esteemed for his humane, benevolent disposition, with many other amiable qualities, which we shall omit to enumerate in the compass of a letter, as this just tribute to his memory is already performed by a more able pen, and inserted in the public Prints, which we make no doubt have come to your hands."

They add that they have chosen Mr. Inglis as his successor, he being

"a clergyman universally esteemed, as well for his exemplary life as other abilities requisite to fill that publick and important station"; they add that "we are of opinion had he not been in the line of succession as Assistant Minister to Doctr. Auchmuty we could not have made a better choice."

A letter was also addressed to the Bishop of London in similar terms, saying that "as soon as decency permitted, the Church wardens and a majority of the vestry elected Mr. Inglis."

At this session the rector communicated a letter from the Rev. Mr. Bowden, dated at Jamaica, March 14th, saying that he had at last decided not to return to New York.

"Before Dr. Auchmuty's death," he said, "I had two objections. The one—there was no prospect of a Provision. The other—A weak broken voice, and a tender habit of body. The former objection may, probably, be removed by Dr. Auchmuty's Death; but the latter continues in full force, and alone determines me to buit the city."¹

His resignation was accepted, and it was ordered to pay his salary up to the date of resignation.

Outside the British lines, now somewhat closely drawn about the city of New York, the people of the province had taken decided steps looking to the future. A constitutional government had been organized, under which the

¹ Records, i., 397.

religious Establishment was swept away. The Established Church in New York lay at the point of death, waiting, like the monarchy, the act of dissolution; as an establishment it was ready to depart, but a greater and better thing was to arise from the ashes of the old burning, and a spiritual dominion, in the power of the old Catholic and Apostolic lineage, was to be born for a new and glorious life.

The first Constitution of the State of New York, passed April 20, 1777, provided, in Article XXXV., that

“such parts of the common law of England & of the statute law of England and Great Britain & of the acts of the legislature of the Colony of New-York as did together form the law of the said Colony on the nineteenth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five shall be and continue the law of this State . . . That all such parts of the said common law, and all such of the said Statute, and acts aforesaid, or parts thereof, as may be construed to establish or maintain any particular denominations of Christians or their Ministers . . . are hereby abrogated and rejected,”

while Article XXXVIII. declares :

“And Whereas we are required by the benevolent principles of rational liberty, not only to expel civil tyranny, but also to guard against that spiritual oppression and intolerance, wherewith the bigotry and ambition of weak and wicked priests and princes have scourged mankind : This convention doth further, in the name and by the authority of the good people of this State, ORDAIN, DETERMINE and DECLARE, that the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship without discrimination or preference, shall for ever hereafter be allowed within this State to all mankind. Provided, that the liberty of conscience hereby granted, shall not be so construed, as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of this State.”¹

In May of this year the Charity School lost its head master. The Venerable Society's abstract of this year al-

¹ *The Constitution of the State of New-York*, 27-30.

ludes to the death of Mr. Hildreth,¹ approving, at the same time, the appointment of his successor, saying :

"The Society have in the course of the year been favored with two letters ; in the former of which, dated July 24, 1777, the Society are informed of the death of Mr. Hildreth, their late Schoolmaster at New York, and of the care that hath been taken of the scholars (which are 86 in number) until another Schoolmaster should be appointed. And upon the recommendation of Dr. Inglis, the Society have given that appointment, with the salary of 15*l.* *per annum*, to Mr. Amos Bull, who is represented to them as a person of good character and principles, and in all respects well qualified for the employment. The Society have also bestowed a gratuity of 10*l.* upon the widow of the late Mr. Hildreth, who, from the losses sustained by her husband, from the great fire in September 1776, is left in low circumstances."

The Records show that notwithstanding the troubled condition of affairs, efforts were made to carry on the business of the Church in the customary and orderly way. Thus it was voted, June 9, 1777, to pay Dr. Auchmuty's salary to his administrator up to May 1st last. Leases were talked about, Captain Lewis was appointed to collect rents, a petition was sent to the king, asking for relief from losses incurred by the fire, a subscription was opened for Mr. Moore, a committee was appointed to find a successor to "Mr. Joseph Hildreth, deceased," and a balance of £659 19*s.* 2*d.* was found due to the Warden from the Corporation. A special report of the loss by fire was presented, showing the amount to be £22,200.²

¹ "Last week died at his House in this City, Mr. Joseph Hildreth, who for about 40 Years past was Clerk of Trinity Church, and had the Care of the Charity School here ; He was always esteemed an upright, honest Man."—*The New-York Gazette*, May 12, 1777.

² "By the late fire which happened in the City of New York, on the 21st Day of September last . . . the said Corporation have lost twenty-two thousand two hundred pounds in the four following Buildings which was consumed by the fire :—

Trinity Church, including the Organ.....	£17,500
Parsonage or Rector's House.....	2,500
Two Charity School Houses and Fencings.....	2,000
Library.....	200

————— £22,200

Besides the loss to the Corporation of £536. p. annum, the annual rent of 246 Lotts of

In June, Dr. Seabury preached in St. Paul's before the Free and Accepted Masons, on "Brotherly Love."¹

Among the notable funerals of the period was that of the wife of Governor Franklin, of New Jersey, whose remains were placed under the chancel of St. Paul's.²

The insecurity of property and life in the city at that time will be better appreciated by reference to the fact, that on the night of November 25th, Martling's men came down from the American lines, and, in a dash into the city, burned the residence of Oliver De Lancey at Bloomingdale. It may here be noted, that at the close of the war the entire property of this gentleman, together with that of his nephew, James De Lancey, and many others of the same political stamp, was confiscated. General Lee also was taken prisoner by Lord Howe, and held by him as a deserter, on the ground that he was English born.

A corps had been raised for the king's service, composed of natives of the province, and known as the "Loyal

ground the Tenant's Buildings all consumed by the Fire. In witness whereof we have signed this report the 13th day of May 1777. Elias Desbrosses, Charles Shaw, Antho. Van Dam, William Laight."—Records, i., 398.

¹ A copy of the sermon, presented to the Rev. Benjamin Moore, with the author's autograph, is bound up in a volume of sermons and tracts presented to the New York Hist. Society, July 22, 1813, by Mr. Moore, then Bishop Moore. The occasion is brought to notice by the *Gazette*: "Tuesday the 24th Instant, (Being the Anniversary of Saint John the Baptist) a large Body of loyal Members of the ancient, free, and accepted Masons belonging to Zion Lodge, assembled at the house of the Widow De La Montagnie; and from thence proceeded in Form to St. Paul's Church, where a most excellent Sermon was preached on the Occasion, by the Revd. Doctor Seabury, from the first Verse of the CXXXIIIId Psalm: '*Behold how good and how pleasant it is for Brethren to dwell together in Unity.*' After Service they returned and dined together; when a Number of loyal Toasts were drank, and the Evening concluded with the usual Love, Harmony and Unity ever subsisting among the Craft."—*The New-York Gazette*, June 30, 1777.

² "Last Monday departed this Life in this City, in the 43d Year of her Age the Lady of his Excellency William Franklin, Esq; Governor of the Province of New-Jersey; Her remains were decently interred in the Chancel of St. Paul's Church, the next Evening, attended by a Number of the most respectable Inhabitants of this Place: She was a loving Wife, an indulgent Mistress, a steady Friend, and affable to All."—*Ibid.*, August 4, 1777.

Americans." The spirited action of Mr. Inglis at this time is indicated by a sermon preached by him to this corps, on the subject of the duty of the Christian soldier. In the eyes of the clergy at that crisis, loyalty and righteousness meant much the same thing. This sermon was printed, as appears from the following advertisement :

" This day is published and may be had at
H. GAINÉ's Book-Store,
In Hanover-Square

The Christian Soldier's Duty
Briefly delineated :

In A
SERMON

Preached at KING'S BRIDGE Sept. 7, 1777,
BEFORE

The *American Corps* newly raised
For His Majesty's Service

By CHARLES INGLIS, A.M.
Rector of Trinity Church, New York.
Published by particular Desire."¹

Troops were now pouring into New York ; during this month three thousand arrived from England. A duel occurred, soon after the arrival of the fleet, of which an account is given in the *Gazette* :

" On Wednesday last . . . one of the Fleet that came out under Convoy of the Experiment, Bristol, &c. arrived here from England. And,

" Next Day arrived the Remainder of the Fleet under Convoy of his Majesty's Ship the Experiment, of 50 Guns, Sir James Wallace, Commander ; the Bristol, of 50, J. Renier, Esq., Commander ; the Buffaloe (an old 70), Henry Bromedge, Esq., Commander ; and Zebra, Hon. J. Talmash, Esq., Commander ; with the Lord Howe, and Aston Hall, Ordnance Transports. There are about 3000 Soldiers in the Fleet . . . and 167,000 *l.* Sterling in solid Coin. . . .

¹ *The New-York Gazette*, Sept. 29, 1777.

"The Evening after the Arrival of the Fleet, a Duel with Swords, was fought at Hull's, between the Hon. J. Talmash (Brother to Earl Dysert) Commander of the Zebra and Capt. Pennington (Son to Sir Ralph Pennington) of the Guards, who came Passenger in the Zebra ; in which the former received a Wound under the left Breast of which he expired immediately ; the latter was wounded in 7 different Parts, but is like to do well.

"Captain Talmash's Corpse were decently interred in Trinity Church Yard last Saturday Evening."—*The New-York Gazette*, Sept. 29, 1777.

Notices of the work of the Church, quietly going on as usual in the midst of the prevalent turmoil, are not without their interest.

"On Sunday next a Charity Sermon will be preached in the Forenoon, at ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, for the Benefit of the CHARITY SCHOOL in this City.—Should the Weather be bad, the Sermon will be postponed to the following Sunday.

"It may be proper to inform such as are not acquainted with the Nature and Design of this Institution—that this School consists of 86 Scholars, viz. 56 Boys and 30 Girls, who are annually cloathed and instructed in the Principles of the Christian Religion. They are taught Reading, Writing, and Arithmetick, and the Girls Needle Work ; Books, Paper, &c. found them. The Aiders of this pious Work are also informed, that the School is visited once a Month by the Rector, Church Wardens, and a Committee of the Vestry of Trinity Church, and the Children carefully examined ; and that the Institution is principally supported by the Contributions of benevolent Persons, collected at the Sermons which are annually preached for its Benefit."¹

December 1st, there was the following announcement :

"The badness of the weather *Yesterday* prevented the CHARITY SERMON from being preached in ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, as mentioned in our last : But on SUNDAY next (Weather permitting) it will be preached in the said Chapel for the Benefit of the Charity School in this City."²

Finally a favoring sky opened and we are able to read, December 8th, that

"Yesterday an excellent Charity Sermon was preached at St.

¹ *The New-York Gazette*, Nov. 24, 1777.

² *Ibid.*, Dec. 1, 1777.

GEORGE'S CHAPEL, by the Revd. Mr. MOORE, when a handsome Collection was made for the Use of the CHARITY SCHOOL in this City; and next Sunday another Charity Sermon will be preached at ST. PAUL'S for the same laudable Purpose."¹

Accordingly the following Sunday Mr. Inglis preached at St. Paul's. Referring to this occasion, the editor of *The New-York Gazette* says :

"Yesterday an Excellent Charity Sermon was preached in ST. PAUL'S CHAPEL, by Revd. Mr. Inglis, when a handsome Collection was made for the Use of the CHARITY SCHOOL in this City.

"The following polite Note was sent to one of the Vestry Yesterday Evening, with 5 Guineas.

"A Person who has been deprived of contributing his Mite at the proper Place appointed to receive it, takes this Method of conveying it to your Hands to answer the Request of this Day, Sunday Evening."²

The Christmas feast brought its usual tidings of good will to the poor and needy. We are informed that :

*"On Wednesday next being Christmas Eve, 40 poor Widows, House-keepers, having Families in this City, will receive 40 lb. of fresh Beef, and a half Peck Loaf each, on a Certificate of their Necessity, signed by two Neighbours of Repute, which is to be delivered at the Revd. Dr. Inglis's House in the Broadway, between 10 and 12 o'Clock that Day, who will give a Ticket for the above Donation."*³

The Masons were actively engaged on behalf of the poor of Trinity Parish, being invited to assemble at "The Sign of the Globe," and walk in procession to church.

"All Loyal ancient *free and accepted* Masons who chuse to celebrate the Anniversary of ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST, are requested by the Master and Wardens of *Zion Lodge*, to attend at the House of Brother John Borrowes, at the Sign of the Globe, near the City Hall, on Saturday the 27th of December, at 9 o'Clock in the Forenoon. They will walk in Procession to Church where a Sermon will be preached on the

¹ *The New-York Gazette*, Dec. 8, 1777.

² *Ibid.*, Dec. 15, 1777.

³ *Ibid.*, Dec. 22, 1777.

Occasion, and a Collection made by the Church Wardens for the Use of the Poor of the Parish of Trinity Church." ¹

The parish registers having been destroyed in the great fire, a new set of books was commenced. The destruction of those old registers cannot be too deeply deplored. One only, a Register of Marriages, escaped destruction; and that goes back only to 1746, the time of a previous fire. In marriages we have no records prior to that date; in baptisms and burials we can go as far as 1777. The only remaining Burial Register of the parish begins May 11, 1777, with the name of Joseph Hildreth, the schoolmaster, who died of "nerv. Fever," at the age of fifty-five years. The entries of the year cover nearly twenty-two pages with about forty on some of the pages, and occasionally seven or eight interments a day, which would indicate a large draught upon the time of the clergy. The total number of interments was seven hundred and fifty-two. Children were the greatest sufferers.

The University of Oxford, in full convocation, on the 25th of February, 1778, conferred on the Reverend Charles Inglis the well-deserved honor of a degree of Doctor of Divinity.

At a meeting of the Vestry, held January 15th, in the same year, a select committee was appointed consisting of the Warden and others, to report on the subject of appropriating that part of the churchyard which lay to the south of Trinity Church for the construction of vaults for the interment of the dead, and ascertaining how much of the said ground should be used for that purpose; they also considered the question of reserving a piece of ground adjoining Thomas Street, "in order to widen and make the said street more commodious than it is at present." ²

The next entry shows the financial condition of the

¹ *The New-York Gazette*, Dec. 22, 1777.

² Records, i., 460.

parish and recognizes the fact that the country was in a state of war. Mr. Mortier having demanded the payment of the Corporation's bond for the sum of four thousand pounds, the Board declare their inability to pay it, "owing to the present distressed circumstances of the country."

"Wednesday last was married at Flushing, Long Island, BEVERLY ROBINSON, jun., Esq; Lieut. Col. of the Loyal American Regiment, to the amiable and accomplished Miss NANCY BARCLAY, youngest daughter of the Revd. Dr. BARCLAY, formerly Rector of Trinity Church in this Place." ¹

"On Saturday last died at his house in Broad Street, in the 65th year of his age Mr. Samuel Deall, merchant, who justly merited the character of a loving husband, a tender father, a sincere friend, a worthy citizen, and in all things else the upright honest man. His remains were very decently interred on Monday evening in Trinity Church Yard." ²

March 26. The parish was called to mourn the loss of one of its wardens, Mr. Elias Desbrosses,³ who died at the age of sixty, having been an exceedingly useful member of the parish. He was a loyalist. At a meeting held April 2d, and attended by the rector and fourteen members of the Corporation, "it was requested of Mr. J. Desbrosses to act as Church Warden in the place of the deceased Church Warden, E. Desbrosses, Esq." He consented to serve until Easter, and reserved his decision respecting further duty, though at Easter he was elected.

¹ *The New-York Gazette*, Jan. 26, 1778.

² *The Royal Gazette*, March 28, 1778.

³ "An Ornament to the Religious Society, of which he was a member, he was assiduous in promoting its interests; and indefatigable in his endeavours to extricate it from those embarrassments in which the present wanton and unnatural Rebellion had involved it. Nor were his views for this purpose, and the general good of his fellow creatures, confined to the term of his own existence here: By his last will he bequeathed considerable sums for the education and support of orphans in the Charity School of Trinity Church, and for promoting religion. In short, few persons have deserved better of society—few have been more justly and sincerely lamented than Mr. DESBROSSES. His remains were interred in the family vault in Trinity Church Yard, attended by a large number of the respectable citizens, on the Saturday after his decease."—*Ibid.*, April 4, 1778.

In the month of April, the services of the Church were duly opened in Brooklyn by the Rev. James Sayre. It has already been shown that this enterprise was projected under the patronage of the authorities of the parish four years previously. Its successful issue forms a bright spot in that cloudy period. The happy consummation of the project is thus announced :

“On Sunday morning the 5th Inst. to the great satisfaction of the Inhabitants, the Church at Brooklyne was opened, and divine Service, according to ritual of the Church of England, performed by the Rev. Mr. Sears who preached an excellent sermon and baptized a Child, which was the first Infant admitted to that Sacrament within said Church, where there will be Prayers and a Sermon next Sunday and on *Good Friday*; also on the three Sundays following: Every fourth Sunday afterwards the Church will be occupied by the Dutch Congregation.”¹

About this time the University of Oxford conferred the degree of Doctor of Divinity on the Reverend Samuel Seabury.²

On the 21st of April, a vestry, composed almost entirely of the old members, was elected, and a session was held the same day. The action of a committee appointed to treat with Mr. Bull, to serve as parish clerk at a salary of fifteen pounds, and master of the Charity School at six and the customary fees and perquisites, was approved and they were directed to notify Mr. Bull, “who is now in town.” A house was ordered for the accommodation of the school, which, notwithstanding the misfortunes of the parish, they courageously resolved should not suffer. The master was to live in the schoolhouse. Mr. Peter McLean, who had officiated for some time past as clerk, was voted the sum of ten pounds. The committee in charge

¹ *The New-York Gazette*, April 13, 1778. See also Sprague's *Annals*, v., 306; Onderdonk's *Revolutionary Incidents*, Sections 843, 874, pp. 178, 186; and Sabine's *Loyalists*, ii., 265.

² See *The New-York Gazette*, April 27, 1778.

of leases reported a rent roll, or a list taking the place of one, and showing in the general confusion, that in some cases "no rent is specified," which the Board hastened to correct, and made at the same time regulations to prevent misapprehension in the future.

Mr. Nathaniel Marston presented the parish "with a Handsome Velvet Paal," for which he was duly thanked, while committees were appointed to audit the account.¹

June 1. The auditing committee found that there was due the estate of the late Warden, Elias Desbrosses, now succeeded by James Desbrosses, the sum of £479 os. 6d.

It was voted to push the subscription for Mr. Moore with due diligence, but it was resolved that

"the precarious state of the Church Funds, added to their very great losses, render it Impossible for the Corporation to engage the payment of any specified sum p. Annum for the present, fifty pounds formerly engaged for excepted."

They also declared that their losses

"occasioned by the present unhappy warr in America renders it absolutely necessary for them to be very attentive to their remaining funds a considerable part of which arises from the Rents of Pews in their several Churches and which if not duly and regularly paid they cannot support the annual charges of Divine Worship and their other unavoidable expenses."

It was accordingly resolved to let to other parties the pews not paid for within a given time.²

At this period some persons evidently thought that the churchyard of Trinity was a proper place wherein to keep domestic animals ; but the sudden disappearance of a goat one day proved that, if an appropriate field for browsing, it was hardly safe. The owner at once raised a hue and

¹ Records, i., 401, 402.

² *Ibid.*, 402.

cry in the newspapers and earnestly sought to recover his property, though with what success we cannot state.¹

Mr. Chief-Justice Daniel Horsmanden, a person of note in his day, and a prominent figure in the parish, as well as in society and politics, died at Flatbush, Long Island, September 23d. It will be remembered that he married the widow of the first rector of the parish. He was buried in Trinity Churchyard, September 25th. Judge Horsmanden was a native of Great Britain, but had resided in America upwards of fifty years. He was for some time President of His Majesty's Council, and Chief Justice of the province. He died at a very advanced age. His narrative of the Negro Plot is well known.

Continuing our extracts from the newspapers of the time, we come upon the following :

"About 3 o'Clock last Wednesday Morning departed this Life in his 75th year, Mr. NATHANIEL MARSTON, of this City, Merchant : His remains were decently interred in the Family Vault in Trinity Church Yard the Afternoon of the Day following, attended by a number of the most respectable Inhabitants of this Place."²

"To-morrow, a Charity Sermon will be preached in St. Paul's Chapel, for the benefit of the Charity School in this City. Should the weather prove unfavourable the sermon will be postponed to the Sunday following."³

"Yesterday an Excellent Charity Sermon was preached at St. Paul's Church, by the Rev. Mr. Moore, where a large Collection was made for the benefit of the Charity School in this City ; and, next Sunday,

¹ "STOLEN.

"Out of Trinity Church yard, where she was tied fast with a rope, which appeared to be cut, a milch Goat, with long horns, long hair, and shaggy, of a greyish colour, with some white stripes on her forehead. Whoever will take up said goat, and secure the thief so that he may be brought to justice shall receive a reward of one guinea, or the Goat only a reward of two dollars by applying to the printer.

"N. B. All masters of vessels are requested if carried on board any of their ships, not to purchase her but to give notice as above."—*The New-York Gazette*, Sept. 14, 1778.

² *Ibid.*, Oct. 26, 1778.

³ *The Royal Gazette*, Nov. 21, 1778.

Weather permitting, another Charity Sermon will be preached at St. George's for the like laudable Purpose."¹

"Yesterday an excellent Charity Sermon was preached at St. George's Chapel, by the Rev. Mr. Battwell, where a handsome Collection was made for the use of the Charity School in this City."²

The local wit thus announced the marriage of the Rev. Mr. Moore :

"On the 20th ult was married at St. George's Church, the Rev. Mr. BENJAMIN MOORE to Miss CHARITY CLARKE, eldest daughter of the late Major CLARKE of this City.

"The good PARSON deserved a good CLARKE,
Such happiness fate had in Store,
'T was CHARITY blew up the spark,
And fix'd the bright flame in one MOORE."³

At the annual election, April 6th, the following persons were duly elected ; it is well to give their names, as showing who stood firm at this period : James Desbrosses and John T. Kempe, Wardens. Robert Crommeline, Theophylact Bache, Edward Laight, Anthony Van Dam, John Chandler, Benjamin Kissam, Miles Sherbrooke, Col. Fred Phillipse, John Griffith, Gabriel H. Ludlow, Peter Goelet, Charles Shaw, Christopher Smith, Peter Van Schaack, Thomas Moore, William Laight, David Seabury, Robert Watts, William Ustick, Aug. Van Cortlandt, Vestrymen.⁴

May 4. The new Warden, Mr. Desbrosses, who had succeeded his brother, reported £339 4s. 8½d. in his hands to the credit of the parish. It was ordered at this time that the clerk should have three shillings for recording each baptism.

July 6. Mr. Horton St. John presented his bill for surveying the Church lands and making a field-book, while it was voted to postpone the completion of the sur-

¹ *The New-York Gazette*, Nov. 23, 1778.

² *Ibid.*, Nov. 30, 1778.

³ *The Royal Gazette*, May 2, 1778.

⁴ Records, i., 406.

vey for the present, "on account of the Heat of the Weather."

August 10. There were still those who believed in the permanent condition of things, and twelve lots were leased to John Livingston, Esquire, "for the term of 42 years." It was decided to fix the rent at "£50 for the first 14 years, £75 for the next 14 years, and £100 for the last 14 years."

October 29. The matter of the Charity Sermons once more appears, and it is "resolved that the Charity Sermons for this season (weather permitting) be preached on the 21st and 28th Day of next month." The report shows the school was still in a fair condition.

In the Records, October 29, 1779, we come upon an interesting entry:

"It being represented to this Corporation by one of its members, that the Old Dutch Church in this City is at Present used as a Hospital for His Majesty's Troops. The Board Impressed with a grateful Remembrance of the former kindness of the Members of that Antient Church in permitting the use of their Church to the Members of the Church of England, when they had no proper edifice of their own for that purpose, offer to the Members of the Antient Dutch Church the use of St. George's Chapel for celebrating their worship on Sundays and such other times as they shall choose to perform Divine service. They hope from nine to eleven o'clock in the morning and from one to three o'clock in the afternoon will be convenient to the Members of the Dutch Church. If these hours should be very inconvenient the Vestry will endeavor to meet their wishes as far as they can consistent with the duty they owe to their own congregation."¹

The Rev. Mr. Inglis, writing to the Venerable Society on this subject, November 26, 1779, says that "The members of the Dutch Church in this city had always lived in the utmost harmony with the members of our Church," and that

"the Loyal Dutch continued in the City after it was reduced by the

¹ Records, i., 410.

King's Troops; & a loyal Minister officiated for them. But the Commandant was under the necessity of taking their Church lately for an Hospital; and the Dutch Congregation signified their inclination that we should assist them. I immediately called my Vestry, & after maturely considering all circumstances we judged it adviseable for many reasons to let them have the use of one of our Churches. Accordingly their minister now Officiates for them early in the morning, & between our Services in St. George's Chapel, without any interruption to my Congregation. I believe we did right in this, & think you would have been of the same opinion, were you acquainted with our situation."¹

This year there was published in London and New York in pamphlet form letters which had already appeared in *The Royal Gazette* and *The New-York Gazette* in 1779, the *Letters of Papinian*, addressed to Laurens and John Jay, strongly opposing the aims of the American Congress. This work has been attributed to Dr. Inglis.² He objects that nearly all the members of Congress are men of "desperate fortune."

Judge Jones, a Royalist, gives a distinct intimation of the immoralities of the British officers at this time,³ when, though multitudes of American prisoners were dying of starvation and ill-treatment in the prison houses and hulks of New York, society was pursuing a ceaseless round of gayety and frivolity. The social life of the city is pictured by Madame De Riedesel, the wife of the German general who was captured at Saratoga with Burgoyne. The Baroness spent large portions of the years 1779 and 1780 in New York, where upon her arrival she was conducted to "a very beautiful and spacious house," where she and the

¹ *N. Y. MSS.*, ii., 637.

² The N. Y. Hist. Society's copy of this pamphlet has written on the title-page in pencil "By Dr. Auchmuty," and in ink, "By the Revd Dr. Charles Inglis." Sabin in his *Dictionary of Books*, vol. ix., 106, attributes the work to Inglis and mentions a London edition. The author says that he had "access to original papers" and "availed himself of the Records of both Houses of Parliament."

³ *History of New York*, i., 341.

general found everything prepared for their reception, supposing that she was in a public house. She writes :

“On the next morning, a servant came to ask me what I should wish for my dinner, and how many guests I expected to have every day. I replied that as my husband dined seldom at home, three dishes would be sufficient, and that we were six persons ; myself, my children, my female attendants, and the Rev. Mr. Mylius, the chaplain of my husband’s regiment, and now the only instructor we had for our children. He was a most worthy gentleman, and, at the same time, of such a cheerful temper, that we all, including the children, loved him. I was told that orders had been given to furnish my table with six principal courses, and three smaller services ; and still supposing that I was in a public hotel, I strongly objected against such profusion, for fear of excessive expense. But I soon discovered my error. The house was that of the Governor, General Tryon, who apprehending that I might refuse to take my abode with him, had given orders that I should not be informed where the soldier had conducted me ; and such was his generosity, that in order to leave me more at ease, and to avoid my thanks, he went to Long Island, under the pretence of attending to some affairs connected with the provisional command he held there. All my wishes were fully gratified, but I was constantly apprehensive lest I should abuse so much kindness.”¹

General Clinton also offered her the use of a country-seat,

“Where I might have my children innoculated there, on account of the danger of that operation in the city, where the small-pox was then making sad ravages.”²

As that disease continued to rage violently, his offer was gratefully accepted.

“I gave the cook ten guineas to buy provisions for that journey ; but he soon returned to ask for more money, saying that what I had given him would not pay for two days’ provision, such was the scarcity and high price of everything. For instance, a pound of meat cost twelve groschen ; a pound of butter, eighteen groschen ; a turkey, four dollars ; a fowl, twenty groschen ; an egg, four groschen ; a quart of

¹ *Letters and Memoirs* by Madame De Riedesel, 232.

² *Ibid.*, 233.

milk, six groschen ; a hamper of potatoes, two dollars ; half a hamper of turnips, one dollar and a half ; ten oysters, eight groschen ; and half a dozen onions, one dollar. There was nothing to do but to bear it with patience."¹

One day a general was announced, and in the course of conversation he asked how she liked her quarters, when the thankful Baroness desired to know the name of her generous benefactor. Thereupon the visitor laughed, and at that moment General Riedesel entering said, "You are speaking to him who has shown you so much kindness." It was General Tryon. In December a terrible storm came, and Clinton's residence where they were then staying seemed on the point of being blown away ; in fact a portion of the building actually fell with a terrible crash. In the morning they were buried in five feet of level snow, and egress was impossible.

"An old white fowl which had fortunately escaped the cook's notice, furnished us with a broth, which with a few potatoes the gardener gave us served for the dinner of more than fourteen persons." "

Returning to New York she was amazed to find her dwelling "fitted up with mahogany, and was really alarmed at the expense." She was, however, relieved on being informed that it had been purchased at the Governor's cost.

As the Queen's birthday approached, a great *fête* was arranged, and the Baroness was selected to represent the Queen, being driven to the ball, attended by Generals Tryon and Patterson, amid the reverberation of kettle-drums and trumpets. At the supper she sat under a canopy while the revel went on. But in time the picture changes, and the river being half frozen, one can imagine what must have been the condition of the American prisoners, dying in the sugar-houses, when in the winter wood

¹ *Letters and Memoirs* by Madame De Riedesel, 234.

² *Ibid.*, 236.

became so scarce that the whole garrison suffered from want of firewood.

When the summer of 1780 came a malignant fever prevailed and both her husband and daughter were prostrated.

"In the midst of such convulsions, the patients generally expired. Every day I heard of fifty or sixty burials; and such tidings were not calculated to strengthen my courage."¹

She remained the entire summer on General Clinton's estate, where the two Misses Robinson spent a fortnight with her previous to the return of the party to town, where they hastened to see the new fashions.

"On our next meeting, I hardly recognized them in the extravagant and ridiculous attire, with which a very beautiful woman, who had arrived from England, had cheated them, as well as all the other fashionable belles of New-York." ²

All, indeed, suffered in the winter of 1779-80. Washington writes from Morristown on January 22, 1780 :

"I have been at my present headquarters since the first day of December, and have not a kitchen to cook a dinner in, although the logs have been put together some considerable time by my own guard. Nor is there a place at this moment in which a servant can lodge, with the smallest degree of comfort.

"Eighteen belonging to my family and all Mrs. Ford's, are crowded together in her kitchen, and scarce one of them able to speak for the colds they have caught." ³

Under the circumstances Washington was not prepared to take advantage of the condition of New York, though he knew its helpless condition: the half-frozen rivers on either side and the ships jammed in the ice.

Relations like these enable us to appreciate the condition of things and the state of society, in the midst of which the parish was making a struggle for life. The

¹ *Letters and Memoirs* by Madame De Riedesel, 245.

² *Ibid.*, 248.

³ Sparks's *Writings of George Washington*, vi., 449.

scanty and imperturbable Records make no special reference to the general distress that prevailed, but run on in an impartial and business like way; the statement that the rector retired from the Board to enable the members to consider the finances, taken in connection with the story of the German Baroness, show that the pressure upon all classes was very severe. The Records of January 25, 1780, state that the Vestry were chiefly employed with matters relating to street improvements, and the remittal of rents, which could not be collected. Dr. Inglis withdrew from the meeting to allow those present an opportunity of considering the fact that his salary was also inadequate "for the support of his family." It was, therefore, voted

"that in consideration of the heavy expenses attending the support of a family at this time, Doctor Inglis should be allowed the sum of one hundred pounds over and above his Annual allowance,"

whereupon, "Dr. Inglis was called in and made acquainted with the resolution." The same amount was also voted to Mr. Moore.¹

January 30. Dr. Inglis preached a discourse on honoring the king, the occasion being the anniversary of the martyrdom of Charles I.²

¹ Records, i., 410.

² "JUST PUBLISHED.
The Duty of Honouring the KING,
explained and recommended:
 IN A
 SERMON,
 Preached in ST. GEORGE'S and ST. PAUL'S
 CHAPELS NEW YORK,
 On Sunday January 30, 1780.
 Being the Anniversary of the Martyrdom of
 KING CHARLES I.
 By CHARLES INGLIS, D. D.,
 Rector of Trinity Church New-York.
 To be had of H. GAINÉ."
 —*The New-York Gazette*, March 6, 1780.

March 28. The Records show that the only business transacted related to lots. In April the Vestry received the report of an auditing committee, who stated that there was a balance in the hands of the Warden of £673, 15s.

April 11. The rector communicated a letter received by him "from several of the members of the Antient Reformed Dutch Congregation," which, being read, was ordered on file. The letter is as follows :

"New York, April 8, 1780, Major General Pattison, having taken the earliest opportunity, (the Recovery of the sick and wounded soldiers would permit) of returning to the old Dutch Church of which we now have possession. Permit us, sir, thro' you, to return our most grateful thanks to the Vestry of Trinity Church for their kind offer of St. George's Chapple, with the use of which we were so happily accommodated during the time our Church was occupied by his Majesty's troops. The Christian like behaviour and kind attention shown them in our distress by members of the Church of England will make a lasting impression on the mind of the antient Reformed Dutch Congregation, who have always considered the interest of the two churches inseparable, and hope that this Instance of Brotherly Love, will evince to posterity the cordial and happy union subsisting between us. We are, with great Regard, Dear Sir, Your most faithful and obedient servants."¹

This was signed by Garrit Sydekker, V. D. M., Abel Hardenbrook, John Alstyne, William Ellis, Henry Brevoort, Barnardus Smith, Jeronimus Alstyne, Abel Harden Crook, Jr., Isaac Kip.

The capture of Charleston, South Carolina, May 12th, caused great rejoicings in New York, and inspired hope for the future. In June, however, reverses came, General Knyphausen being driven back from New Jersey by Washington and his militia, in confusion and disgrace. Clinton returning from the South, commenced new movements, which led Washington to strengthen his position at West Point and the Highlands; and soon after this occurred the memorable episode of Arnold's treason, and the cap-

ture and execution of the unfortunate André, who died in the flower of his youth, a victim and not a criminal, lamented by both armies, and without a blot on his fame.

"Heu, miserande puer!"

Poor Mr. Inglis, hopeful still while the end came nearer and nearer, writes, May 20, 1780, "The rebellion declines daily and is near its last gasp." (N. Y. MSS., ii., 643.)

"The cruizer Sir George Rodney, of 14 guns, commanded by Captain Daniel Moore, (formerly the Brig Active of Philadelphia, Captain Mesnard, master) on Sunday last returned into our harbour, after a fierce and long continued engagement with the Brig Holker; many were killed on both sides. The Rebel was superior in force to the Loyalist, yet the Holker was so far beaten as to owe her escape to the outsailing the Rodney in keen pursuit of her.

"The slaughter and wounds on the Rodney side will be given when collected. The fate of the gallant Captain DANIEL MOORE, (mortally wounded in the action and since dead) is deplored by thousands. His remains were on Monday evening attended by a very numerous procession of Gentlemen to the family Burial Ground, in Trinity Church Yard."¹

July 4. The Wardens and Vestry met, but probably not to recognize the anniversary of the Declaration of American Independence. They simply refused to abate the rent of John Livingston, and requested Warden Desbrosses to pay the debts of the Church "from time to time as cash shall come into his hands," while, on September 3d, thought was given to the charity sermons to be preached on the 19th and 26th of the month following, the stipulation again being given, "Weather permitting."²

¹ *The Royal Gazette*, July 12, 1780.

² "A

CHARITY SERMON
Will be preached To-Morrow at
ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL,
For the Benefit of the public Charity
School in this City."

—*Ibid.*, Nov. 18, 1780.

"Yesterday an excellent Charity Sermon was preached at ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, by the Rev. Mr. LAMING, when a large Collection was made for the Use of the CHAR-

"*The Hand-Writing of James Rivington having been FORGED and posted up in the Church Walk and several threatening letters sent to his house, he hereby offers a reward of TEN GUINEAS for the discovery of such Forger and Incendiary, to be paid on conviction of the Offender. The Law of England punishes Forgery with DEATH.*

"Sept. 16."

"J. RIVINGTON.¹

"Saturday last departed this life Mr. JONATHAN CROWE, a loyal Refugee from Massachusetts-Bay ; and on Sunday his remains were accompanied to Trinity Church Buryial-ground, by the honourable fraternity of Ancient York Masons, a number of their brethren and many respectable citizens, with the usual formalities." ²

"On Saturday the 30th of last month, died much lamented Mrs. GRACE BONNEL, the wife of Isaac Bonnel, Esq. ; of Amboy, formerly High Sheriff of Middlesex in New-Jersey, and on Sunday her remains were interred in Trinity church-yard, attended by a numerous and respectable company." ³

"Thursday Evening departed this life in the 44th year of her age, Mrs. MARY SEABURY, the wife of Rev. Doctor Seabury of this City." ⁴

On December 22d it was voted to make an allowance of a hundred pounds to each of the clergy, and that in the future three hundred pounds be the salary of the rector and two hundred for the assistant.⁵

During the year 1781 things looked darker and darker as seen from the loyalist point of view, as all was converging on the crowning victory of the Americans at Yorktown in the autumn of that year. The Records of the parish run on as usual, Dr. Inglis maintaining the services, assisted by the Rev. Benjamin Moore.

ITY SCHOOL in this City ; and next Sunday Morning another Charity Sermon will be preached at ST. PAUL'S CHURCH for the like laudable Design."—*The New-York Gazette*, Nov. 20, 1780.

"Sunday last an excellent Charity Sermon was preached at ST. PAUL'S CHAPEL, by the Reverend Dr. INGLIS, when a large collection was made for the use of the Charity School in this City."—*The Royal Gazette*, Nov. 29, 1780.

¹ *Ibid.*, September 16, 1780.

² *Ibid.*, October 4, 1780.

³ *Ibid.*, October 11, 1780.

⁴ *Ibid.*, October 14, 1780.

⁵ Records, i., 415.

Funerals and weddings in the parish continue to attract public attention.

"On Thursday Evening died, Mr. Cornelius Duane : He was descended from a very respectable European Family ;—a sensible, pleasant Person, and much esteemed by a very extensive Acquaintance. His Remains were interred the next Day in Trinity Church Yard, attended by a Number of respectable Citizens." ¹

"Last Wednesday se'nnight was married by the Rev. Mr. Moore, Mr. Robert Appleby, of this city, Brewer, to Miss Peggy Moore, a very amiable young lady and of great merit." ²

"On Wednesday was married Colin Campbell, Esq. ; son of the late worthy Rector of Burlington, in West-Jersey, to Miss A. M. Seabury, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Seabury, of this City." ³

April 5, 1781. Thomas Collister begs the Vestry

"to take into consideration of allowing me a Salary for Taking care of St. George's Chaple which will be putting me on a Footing with Other Sextons, as it would be an encouragement to me to see that it is kept in Good Order & Clean in which I would take great delight & spare no Pains to accomplish. Believe me Gentlemen," he continues, "you may think my Prequisites large by having the Ground of Trinity Church annexed to St. George's, yet it is nothing but the cheapness of the Ground that Brings many Poor People to Bury there, of whom I very often Get nothing at all But the price of the Ground and paying the man for digging the Grave." He also says, "I Pay for only Ringing the Bell at the rate of 8 pounds a year Besides giving up my dues at Christenings for assisting me in Cleaning of the Church which falls rather Hard as I am obliged to attend the Church on Sundays Let me have to do what I will att Funerals, which obliges me to Hire a man when I have an Invitation to do these things considered with the dearness of Provision, Paying a large Rent & Sacrificing my whole time to the services of a Church." ⁴

April 5. Twenty pounds were voted as the salary of Sexton Thomas Collister, and it was ordered that a "velvet pall be provided for the use of funeralls" ; but beyond

¹ *The New-York Gazette*, March 12, 1781.

² *The Royal Gazette*, Aug. 11, 1781.

³ *The New-York Gazette*, Dec. 31, 1781.

⁴ Thomas Collister was appointed sexton of St. George's in 1790.

this the action of the Board furnishes no items of interest.

April 17.

"The question being put whether or not it would be prudent at this time to rebuild Trinity Church provided a sufficient sum of money could be raised by subscription for that purpose and it being put to a vote it was carried in the affirmative by a great majority."

It was therefore resolved to appoint a committee on subscription.

The committee was composed of the rector, together with Mr. Desbrosses, Mr. Vandam, Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Shaw, Mr. Kissam, Mr. Goelet, and Mr. Ellison.

Mr. Moore,

"the present clerk to this corporation, informed the Board that he had removed from town with his family, which would render it very inconvenient for him to attend the business of that office. He desired to resign, which the Board accepting thereupon resolved that Mr. Robert Auchmuty be and is hereby appointed to succeed Mr. Moore as clerk of this Corporation upon the usual salary and emoluments of office."

May 14. There being £421, 15s. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. to the credit of the parish, it was voted to

"paint the east end of St. George's Chapple, to repair the Steeple with the materials they [the Committee] may think most proper & to examine the state of the paint on the said Steeple";

while the yard of St. Paul's was to be enclosed with "Ditch and such Temporary fence as they may think proper."

September 17. Vaults left without St. Paul's Churchyard by the widening of Vesey Street were to be exchanged for new vaults in the yard, to be built by the Church.¹

At the same session the committee was ordered to carry out the intention of Mrs. Anne Chambers, who left in trust five hundred pounds to the Charity School for the benefit of girls, and to provide premiums, "either money, cloathes,

¹ Records, i., 419.

Apprentice fee or in any other manner," as may come within the meaning of the will. They were also to inquire into the title of the Kykout farm, in Kings County, left in trust by Elizabeth Regnier.¹

And now came the end. On the 19th of October, 1781, Lord Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown; the event, so glorious to the American arms, virtually terminated the long strife. "Old things passed away, and all things became new." With the year 1782 another order took the place of one which had vanished, and the inhabitants of New York had need of all the wisdom, consideration, and mutual forbearance at their command till the exact relations between the two countries, Great Britain and the United States, should be determined, and the rights of all should be settled and secured. What must have been the position of the Church at that time! And what interposition of Divine Providence appeared to be needed to save her from spoliation, destruction, and death! There is hardly anything more memorable in the history of Anglican Christianity than the preservation of our institutions, our faith, our *Book of Common Prayer*, and our ecclesiastical traditions in that trying period of transition from the monarchical rule and system of the old world to the freedom and independence of the new. Well have devout men cried out on reading the story: "What hath God wrought!" With reverence we trace, in its mysterious action, the working of a Hand greater than that of man.

In this history of our parish the interest centres, of course, around the figure of its brave and devoted rector. A heavy affliction came to him in the death of his eldest son, Charles, who died on Sunday morning, January 20, 1782, after two days' illness, in the eighth year of his age. The sweetness of disposition and the strength of under-

¹ Records, i., 420.

standing discovered in this gentle child at that early age had raised the highest expectations of his future merit; his untimely death was an inexpressible sorrow to his parents. His body was buried in the chancel of St. Paul's Chapel, and his father took up the burden of his duties with a heart which now grew heavier from day to day.

The rumor that the independence of the thirteen provinces was to be recognized caused the clergy much surprise and perplexity. Under date of August 10, 1782, Mr. Odell writes from New York to the secretary of the Venerable Society :

"The King's Commissioners for restoring peace to these His Majesty's Colonies have recently communicated to the public the very unexpected information that Mr. Grenville has been instructed to propose the Independency of the thirteen Provinces at a Congress assembled at Paris, a circumstance that has thrown us here into the utmost surprise and consternation and which the Society will doubtless consider as peculiarly distressing to their Missionaries in this Country. On this occasion it must be supposed that, in the extreme agitation of alarm, we look for the Society's advice and instruction."¹

The financial condition of the Corporation had now become very critical. General Tryon held the bond of the Church for £5000, on which he offered a discount of ten per cent. if paid at once. On the 11th of April, 1783, the Paymaster-General of the British forces called on the parish for the payment of £8000 of bonds which had come into possession of his department, when the parish frankly confessed its inability to meet the demand at that time, and expressed the hope that the king, on application, would remit the demand in view of their heavy losses.²

Later, application was made in due form to the Lords of the Treasury, and the Bishop of London was approached

¹ New York Gen. Conv. MSS., ii., 658.

² Records, i., 429.

on the subject, but the Bishop wrote in October that to secure the remission it would be necessary to apply to Parliament.¹

The amount standing to the credit of the Church May 21st was only about £73. Still, rents were remitted to lessees of the Church property in view of their poverty and the exigencies of the times ; and leases were sold in order to raise funds for carrying on the work of the parish.² Efforts were made to get the churchyard of St. Paul's Chapel fenced in, and an active committee devoted much time to securing subscriptions for that purpose. The charity sermons went on as usual.³

It became necessary at this time to provide for the religious wants of that considerable number who had taken refuge in the city from outside. We read, on this subject, the following announcements :

¹ Records, i., 429.

² See *The Royal Gazette*, January 9, 1782, *The Royal Gazette*, July 20, 1782, *The New-York Gazette*, June 2, 1783, and *The New-York Gazette*, June 30, 1783.

³ "To-Morrow, being the Seventeenth instant, a CHARITY SERMON is to be preached at ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, for the benefit of the CHARITY SCHOOL belonging to the Parish of Trinity Church in this city. Should the weather prove bad, the sermon will be deferred till the ensuing Sunday."—*The Royal Gazette*, November 16, 1782.

"The badness of the Weather

ON SUNDAY LAST

PREVENTED THE

CHARITY SERMON

from being preached at St. Paul's Church as was intended.

"It will be preached at that Church To-Morrow, being the 24th instant, weather permitting, and on the Sunday following, another Charity Sermon will be preached at St. George's, for the like laudable design."—*Ibid.*, November 23, 1782.

"Last Sunday an excellent Charity Sermon was preached at St. Paul's Church, by the Rev. Dr. INGLIS, when a handsome Collection was made for the Charity School in this City ; and on Sunday next another Charity Sermon will be preached at St. George's Chapel, for the like laudable purpose."—*Ibid.*, November 27, 1782.

"Last Sunday, an excellent Charity Sermon was preached at St. George's Chapel, by the Rev. Mr. MOORE, when a handsome collection was made for the Charity School in this city."—*Ibid.*, December 4, 1782.

“The *Refugees*, and Others,

WHO have not seats in either of the Episcopal Churches in this City, are hereby informed that, his Excellency the Governor has been pleased to allow them use of the Great Court Room in the City-Hall for Divine Service, on Sundays.

“The Refugee Clergy will cheerfully give their Attendance, in rotation, at the usual Hours.

“Divine Service will be regularly performed in that Room, every Sunday: beginning at half an Hour after 10 o'clock in the Forenoon; and at half after three in the Afternoon; during the Summer Season.”¹

“THE Refugees and others who have no Seats in the Churches and who chuse to attend Divine Service in the City-Hall are informed that the room will be accommodated with more seats To-Morrow. The service will always begin at the usual hours.”²

Another blow now fell upon the head of the rector; one by one the cords which bound him to his home in this city were cast off. On the 21st of September, 1783, his wife, Margaret Inglis, died, after a tedious and painful illness, which she bore, we are told, “with unshaken fortitude and exemplary patience and resignation.” She was in her thirty-fifth year, but much older if the length of life is to be measured by “the multitude of sorrows.” Dr. Inglis was now under attainder and his property confiscated. In other colonies amnesty was granted, on the successful completion of the Revolutionary War, and with the good result of retaining in the country men of sterling character and ability, who were willing to yield to the inevitable and accept the situation with a resolve to do their best, as honest citizens, under the change of government. Not so in the province of New York, where there was no reaction in the feeling against the loyalists, and no disposition to adopt a magnanimous policy towards individuals who had rendered themselves obnoxious during

¹ *The New-York Gazette*, July 1, 1782.

² *The Royal Gazette*, July 13, 1782.

the strife. It seemed, on considering his position, that nothing remained for the rector of Trinity Church but to resign his charge and leave the country, and he took that course.

A meeting of the Vestry was held November 1, 1783. They had to consider, first, the measures to be taken for the protection of the property and estate of the Church under the change of government; and secondly, the resignation of the rector. As to the first of these matters, we find that the Board, considering their undoubted duty to take every proper measure to protect and preserve the estate of the Church according to the trust reposed in them, which may call for sudden exertions when the Board cannot be conveniently assembled, do therefore resolve and order that the Church Wardens be a committee for that purpose, and do from time to time use and employ every lawful and reasonable measure to preserve the estate of the Church and the possession thereof, and have power to retain counsel, solicitors, and attorneys, and employ such other persons as they may think proper in that business.¹

This matter having been disposed of, they next considered a communication from Dr. Inglis informing them that his private affairs rendered it necessary for him to remove from the city; that he was desirous to resign the rectorship of the parish on that account, and that he tendered to them, then and there, such resignation. The form of this document, which was in writing, was as follows:

"In the name of God, Amen. I, Charles Inglis, Doctor of Divinity, Rector of the Parish of Trinity Church, in the city of New-York, before you the Church Wardens and Vestrymen of the said Church, and in the presence of credible witnesses here present, for certain just and

¹ Records, i., 436.

lawful causes, me and my mind hereunto specially moving, without compulsion, fear, fraud or deceit, do purely, simply and absolutely resign and give up the said Rectory, of the Parish of Trinity Church, and my office of Rector in the said Corporation of the Rector and inhabitants of the city of New-York in communion with the Church of England, as by law established, by whatsoever name the said Rectory may be most properly known and distinguished, and also the said Church, with all the rights, members, and appurtenances, into the hands of you the said Church Wardens and Vestrymen the patrons thereof, with all my right, title, and possession of, in, and to the same, I quit, cede and renounce them, and expressly recede from them by these presents.

"In witness whereof, I, the said Charles Inglis, have hereunto set my hand and seal, the first day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

"CHARLES INGLIS.

"Sealed and delivered in the presence of us,

"JOHN ALSOP

"GEORGE STANTON."¹

The resignation was accepted; and as the position of affairs admitted of no delay, an election was immediately held, and it was

"unanimously resolved that the Reverend Mr. Benjamin Moore be, and he is, hereby elected and chosen to succeed the Reverend Doctor Inglis as Rector of Trinity Church in the parish aforesaid."

Mr. Moore having been waited upon, formally accepted the rectorship, and it was resolved that he be duly presented to Governor George Clinton for his approval. The form was duly drawn up, and stands on record.²

Nothing now remained but to take leave of his flock. Dr. Inglis preached his farewell sermon at St. George's and St. Paul's Chapels, on Sunday, October 26, 1783. The discourse was such as might have been expected from a man of his character, under circumstances so trying as those in which he was placed. The text was 2 Cor. xiii., 11: "Finally, brethren, farewell. Be perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind, live in peace; and the God of

¹ Berrian's *Historical Sketch* 160.

² Records, i., 436, 437.

love and peace be with you." What his feelings must have been at that moment may be inferred from the "Advertisement" prefixed to the sermon, in which, referring to his domestic affliction and the public calamities, as he regarded them, the author says that

"Being attainted and proscribed, and his estate confiscated by the Legislature of the State of New-York, on account of his loyalty and attachment to the British Government, he was under a necessity, when the King's troops were withdrawn from New-York, of resigning his parish, which contained three large, respectable congregations, with whom he had lived for almost eighteen years in the greatest harmony and mutual good-will."¹

Speaking of the action of the Legislature, he observes :

"It may perhaps be prudent in such a contest as existed lately to pass severe laws to operate as a check on individuals. But when the party enacting those laws, hath proved successful, beyond even its most sanguine expectations, as hath been the case of the Americans ; good policy, as well as humanity, require that those laws should be relaxed."

He also justly says

"that those persons, who, from principles of conscience, adhered firmly to their former government, were the most likely, on the same principles, to serve the new government with fidelity and to become the best subjects."²

The discourse formed a loving and faithful address to his people, with very little political allusion, though he says that

"were I to remain here, and transfer my allegiance to the new government ; I do assure you I would serve and support that government with the same fidelity that I have served the government under which I have hitherto lived."³

This no one could doubt ; and it inspires a feeling of regret, that men, in large numbers, who would have made

¹ "A Farewell-Sermon. Preached at St. George's and St. Paul's Chapels in the City of New York, October 26, 1783. By Charles Inglis, D.D., Rector of the Parish of Trinity-Church, in the City of New York," p. v.

² *Ibid.*, vii.

³ *Ibid.*, 29.

useful citizens of the Republic, were driven into banishment and lost to it forever. He left New York expressing the kindest and most Christian feeling for all, friend and foe, upon whom alike he invoked the Divine blessing.¹

Having removed with his family to Halifax, Nova Scotia, he there continued to discharge the duties of his sacred office for several years, and so acceptably as to secure that advancement in the Church which, for ability and devotion, he justly deserved. On Sunday, August 12, 1787, he was consecrated at Lambeth, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Bishops of Rochester and Chester, the first Colonial Bishop of the Church of England, with ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the whole of British North America. Of his work an eloquent summary was given by the Right Reverend William Stevens Perry, D.D., Bishop of Iowa, in a sermon preached in Westminster Abbey, in 1887; the Bishop spoke as follows :

“Gathering his clergy together for counsel and personal knowledge, the Bishop of Nova Scotia proved himself to be a missionary apostle, by the wisdom of his charges and sermons, and the magnetism of his personal interest in each one who had been placed under him in the Lord. In long and wearisome visitations, he visited, so far as was in his power, the various portions of his almost illimitable see, and till the close of a long and honored life, he maintained that character for devotion, that reputation for holiness, that fervor of ministrations, that faithfulness in every good word and work, which should characterize the ‘good man’ ‘full of the Holy Ghost and of faith.’ Nor was this all. Through his long and earnest labors, ended only when the summons came to depart and be at rest, ‘much people were added to the Lord.’ A Church was organized; a college was founded and built up to a measure of efficiency and success. The institutions of religion were thus established and supported. The preaching of the Word, and the ministration of the sacraments were provided for the crowd of exiles, who, in their devotion to Church and State, had exchanged their American homes for the bleak shores of Nova Scotia, and to the frontier

¹ See the articles by Bishop Perry in the *Church Review* for 1887.

settlers in the dense forests of New Brunswick and Quebec. Thus, through unremitting labors, blessed by God, ere the life of the first colonial bishop was ended, there had been set on foot measures for the development of the Church of Christ in the northern portion of the American continent, which shall act and react for good, till time shall be no more."¹

Bishop Inglis lived to a good old age, and died at Halifax, Nova Scotia, February 24, 1816, in the eighty-second year of his age, the fifty-eighth of his ministry, and the twenty-ninth of his episcopate. He lies buried under the chancel of St. Paul's Church, Halifax. A monument in that church bears the following inscription :

Sacred to the Memory of
THE RIGHT REVEREND AND HONORABLE
CHARLES INGLIS, D.D.,
Third son of the Rev. Archibald Inglis, of Glen and
Kilcar, in Ireland.

Bishop of Nova Scotia and its Dependencies,
Whose Sound Learning and Fervent Piety, directed by
Zeal according to Knowledge,
And supported by Fortitude unshaken amidst peculiar trials,
Eminently qualified him for the arduous labours of the

FIRST BISHOP

Appointed to a British Colony.

This Stone is raised by Filial Duty and Affection, in grateful
Remembrance of every Private Virtue
That could endear a Father, and a Friend,
Of the Ability, Fidelity, and Success, with which he was
Enabled, by the Divine blessing, to discharge
All his Public Duties.

The general prosperity of the Church in his Diocese, the increase of his Clergy, and the provision for their support, the establishment of a Chartered College, and the erection of more than twenty Churches, are the best monument.

*Obit Anno Salutis, 1816 ; Ætatis 82.*²

¹ *The Churchman*, November 5, 1887, 538.

² *History of Trinity Church, St. John, New Brunswick, 1791-1891*. By the Rev. Canon Brigstocke, D.D., 49.

A son of Bishop Inglis, John by name, born in New York, December 9, 1777, succeeded his distinguished father in work and honors, holding the offices of Rector of St. Paul's Church, Halifax, and Ecclesiastical Commissary, during the episcopate of Dr. Stanser, his father's immediate successor, and finally being consecrated Bishop of Halifax in 1825.

I venture to remark, without prejudice to my patriotism and devotion to the memory of our fathers, that it is a great pity that such men as these were lost to the Church, through the intolerance of their contemporaries. They need not have been, and they ought not to have been. Their errors were those of noble natures ; their faults might have been corrected ; there was no need of driving them away. Such zeal, conscientiousness, honesty, and simplicity of mind and purpose might have been turned to our advantage, to the good of the Church, and to the promotion of religion and morality. We salute them from afar, and are glad to remember that these also were once of ours, and, in the faith, are ours still.

*"His saltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani
Munere."*

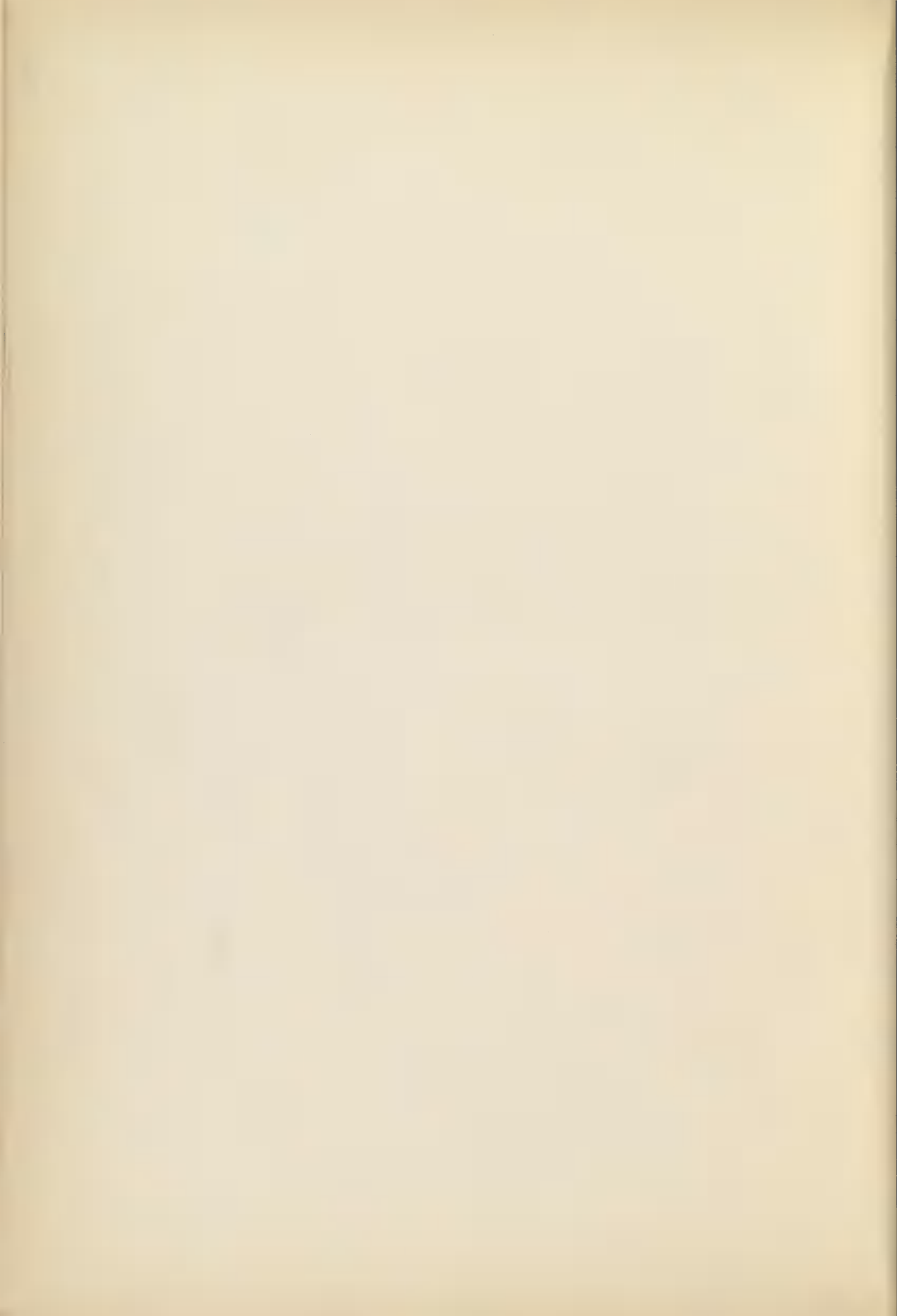
The story of the parish of Trinity Church falls naturally into two grand divisions, separated by the year 1783. I have now completed the first division, bringing the narrative down to the date of the evacuation of New York by the British forces. It may be that another hand must take up the story and continue it to a later date ; but, at least, I have the satisfaction of knowing that the more difficult part of the work is now accomplished, and that, however imperfectly, I have given the record of the first eighty years. Looking back upon the period thus traversed, the children of the ancient parish, and Christian

friends in general, may be thankful for what they see : for the evidence of a gracious Providence working to righteous ends ; for the laying of sure foundations and the wise building thereon ; for the witness borne here to the power of the Gospel, and for the establishment and maintenance of a great trust in the interest of religion, morals, and sound learning. In no poor and contemptible form did our Church begin her career in a town of importance from the first, and destined to take position among the greatest cities of the world. She was endowed, by generous and powerful benefactors, with means sufficient to the need, and governed from the start by able and devoted men, in the two orders of the clergy and the laity. There is not in her annals one record to bring a blush to the cheeks of her children. Of the rectors of that former period, every one is deservedly held in honor. The practical and hard-working Vesey, the learned and devoted Barclay, the amiable and sympathetic Auchmuty, the staunch and loyal Inglis form a quaternion whose names and honor are our cherished possession. Around them, in their times, shoulder to shoulder and hand to hand, stood such men as were needed for the hour and the occasion, men like Neau, Ogilvie, Bowden, and Charlton, of the clergy, and De Lancey, Clarkson, Heathcote, and Morris of the laity, and many others of whom we may think as the Old Guard of that day. To their firm adherence to their principles, their conscientious devotion to their duty as Churchmen, their forethought and patience under adversity, and their loyalty to civil and religious obligations it was due that the parish founded, maintained, and defended by them prospered and grew strong ; that it gained the general confidence and respect ; that it survived the storm of revolution with every right and privilege intact ; and that it entered on the second division of its history, ready to carry

forward the cause of Evangelical Religion and Apostolic Order. On such things as these we reflect not with pride, but with deep thankfulness and with reverent thought of the mercy which endureth from generation to generation. If, at the close of the American Revolution, the body, known up to that time as the Church of England in the Provinces, was left in a state of deep depression, bereaved of many faithful priests whose consciences had driven them into exile, and of thousands of her members who had fled to distant shores; if, through no fault of hers, she had to complete her organization amid difficulties and perils; if adversaries rose up against her, predicting her early dissolution, and rejoicing thereat in advance; it was an advantage and a very great advantage, that in the chief city of the new-born nation there was one stronghold which could not be shaken, one centre where the traditional faith and order were secure from loss; a starting point for progress, and an endowment providing the means of recovery from reverses, and for subsequent growth on churchly lines and in gospel ways. The part played by this great corporation in the organization and development of a Church throughout the State of New York, and even beyond its limits, has been recognized and gratefully acknowledged. Of the more prominent parishes of this city, several are the children of Trinity, and great numbers here and elsewhere have been helped, sustained, and strengthened by her benefactions. With open hand did the corporation give to churches, schools, colleges, and other institutions of religion and learning, and so free and unselfish was its action, and so fully were its obligations recognized, that two thirds of the entire estate had been given away, prior to the year 1840, for the building up of the Episcopal Church outside the limits of the parish. It is a splendid record of fidelity to a trust, and fulfilment of duty. Nor

should this be left unsaid : that while Old Trinity, through her lavish benefactions, attained the honored position of mother of churches, her influence was not less powerful in the assertion of the faith as our branch of the Church has received the same. The parish has stood staunchly from the beginning, as the representative of the system of doctrine, discipline, and worship, contained and exhibited in the *Book of Common Prayer*, the *Sacramental Offices*, and the *Articles of Religion* ; the most prominent defenders of Episcopacy among us have been found in the ranks of the clergy of this parish ; and her conservative influence has been deeply felt throughout our Communion. These are among the glories of the parish for which we give God thanks and take courage. The story of this development, after the recognition of the independence of the North American colonies by Great Britain, remains to be told, that these annals may be brought down to the present time, when the nineteenth century is passing away, and when another, with its unknown issues, is dawning on the earth.

APPENDIX.



APPENDIX.

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I.

CHARTER OF THE CORPORATION OF
TRINITY CHURCH.¹

*GULIELMUS, Tertius, Dei Gratia Angliæ, Scotiæ. Franciæ et
Hiberniæ, Rex fidei Defensor &c.* To all to whom these Presents
shall come, sendeth greeting :

Whereas, by an act of assembly made in the fifth year of our Reigne, entitled "An act for settling a Ministry and Raising a maintainance for them in the city of New Yorke, countys of Richmond, Westchester and Queens county"; among other things therein contained it is enacted that there shall be called, inducted and established, a good sufficient Protestant Minister to officiate and have the care of souls within our said city of New Yorke, and for his better encouragement to attend the said service, it is thereby further enacted that there shall be annually, and once in every year, assessed, levyed, collected and paid for the yearly maintainance of the said minister within our city and county of New Yorke the sune one hundred Pounds currt. money of our province of New Yorke, to be assessed, levyed, collected and paid in such manner and proportion as is further directed in the Body of the aforesaid act, relation being thereunto had may more fully and at large appear. And Whereas, at the same time when the aforesaid act was made, there was not erected any public church or building within our said city whereunto such a good sufficient Protestant minister might have been inducted for his orderly officiating of his duty in the public worship and service of God according to the Rites and ceremonys of our Protestant Church of England Established by our laws : And Whereas, our trusty and well beloved Benjamin Ffletcher, our captain-Generall and Governour-in-Chiefe of our said province of New Yorke and Territoryes depending thereon in America, hath by liberall and bountifull dona-

¹ This copy is printed in conformity, as nearly as possible, with the record in the Secretary's office. It differs very little, except in the spelling, from that appended to Judge Troup's pamphlet, which is supposed to have been copied from the original charter, conformed to the modern spelling. Where there is any difference *in words* between the two, those in Judge Troup's copy, and not in the Secretary's record, are inserted between brackets.

tions as well as by his pious example influenced many of our loving subjects who have likewise religiously contributed according to their respective abilities several sumes of money which by our said capitaine-Generalls direction have been employed and laid out for the erecting and building a church and laying the foundation of a steeple within our said city that the public worship and service of God in manner aforesaid might be more orderly and reverently performed by the aforesaid minister. And Whereas, our loving subjects Coll Caleb Heathcote one of our Council of our said province Major William Merret Mayor of our said city of New Yorke, John Tuder, James Emott, William Morris, Robert Lurting, Thomas Clarke, Ebenezer Wilson, Samuel Burt, James Everetts, Nathaniel Martson, Michael Howden, Thomas Wenham, John Croke, and William Sharpas, citizens and inhabitants of our said city of New Yorke, and the present managers of the affairs of our said Church of England within our said city of New Yorke, have by their petition, presented unto our said trusty and well beloved Benjamin Ffletcher, our said Captain-Generall and Governour in chiefe of our said province of New Yorke and terretories depending thereon in America prayed our royall grant and confirmation of a certaine church and steeple that hath been lately built within our said city of New Yorke, together with a certaine piece or parcell of ground thereunto adjoyning scituate lyeing and beeing in or neere to a streete without the north gate of our said city commonly called and knowne by the name of the Broadway, conteining in breadth on the East end as the said streete of the Broadway rangeth Northward three hundred and tenn foot until you come unto the land lately in the tenure and occupation of Thomas Lloyd Decd : and from thence towards the west in length by the said land until you come unto Hudson's River and thence southward along Hudson's river three hundred and ninety-five foot all of English measure, and from thence by the line of our garden Eastward unto the place of the said street in the Broadway where first begunn, and that the said church together with the cemetry or church yard thereunto adjoyning may forever hereafter be dedicated and consecrated to the public worship and service of God according to the Rites and ceremonies of the protestant church of England as now established by our laws ; which said church and steeple, scituate, lying, and being within our said city as aforesaid, having been built and erected at the charge of our said trusty and well beloved Benjamin Ffletcher, our said Capitaine-Generall and Governour as aforesaid and of severall other of our loving subjects, inhabitants within our said city and province. And Whereas, our said loving subjects in their said humble petition have

likewise prayed that We would be graciously pleased for the better accommodation and conveniency of the inhabitants of our said city of New Yorke, that the same church might be made Parochiall and incorporate into one body Politicq in fact and name by the name of the Rector and inhabitants in communion of the Protestant church of England as now established by our laws ; and that as such, they and their successors may have, hold, use, occupy and enjoy all the rights, benefits, advantages, privileges, immunities, Mortuaries and appurtenances as are usually held and enjoyed by all or any of our Parochiall Churches of our Church of England within our Realme of England, and also that We would be further graciously pleased to appropriate unto our said church the aforesaid yearly maintainance of one hundred pounds enacted by the aforesaid act, and make our further Royall grant of a certaine quantity of our land neere adjoyning to the said church unto the said petitioners in trust for the use of our said church and corporation.

Now, know ye that in consideracon of the great charge that our said trusty and well beloved subject, Benjamin Ffletcher, our Captain-Generall, as aforesaid, and the rest of our aforesaid loving subjects, inhabitants within our said city &c., have been at in the erecting of the said Church, and laying the foundation of a steeple, and the further great charge that must unavoidably acrew for the finishing the said church and steeple, and the providing it with suitable ornaments, as also for the erecting and providing a house neere the said church for the habitation of a minister to officiate in the said church in manner aforesaid, as well as of our pious inclinations to promote, propagate, and encourage all our loving subjects within our said province in that reverend and Godly duty, in worshiping and serving God according to the commendable rites and ceremonyes of our Protestant Church of England as now established by our laws, have therefore thought fitt, and do hereby publish, grant, ordaine, manifest, and declare that our Royall will and pleasure is, and by these presents do, grant and declare that the aforesaid church, erected and built as aforesaid, scituate in and neere the street called the Broadway, within our said City of New-Yorke, and the ground thereunto adjoining, inclosed and used for a Cemetry or Church yard, shall be the Parish Church and Church yard of the Parish of Trinity Church, within our said city of New York, and the same is hereby declared to be for ever separated and dedecated to the service of God, and to be applied therein [thereunto] to the use and behalfe of the inhabitants from time to time inhabiting, and to inhabit, within our said City of New Yorke, in communion of [with] our said

Protestant Church of England as now established by our laws, and to no other use or purpose whatsoever, any statute law, custome, or usage to the contrary in any ways notwithstanding. And that there shall be a Rector to have care of the souls of the inhabitants of said Parish, and a perpetual succession of Rectors there. And we do by these presents constitute our right, trusty, and well beloved the Right Reverend Father in God Henry Lord Bishop of London, and of our Privy Council, the first Rector thereof. And we have further thought fitt and, at the humble request of our said loving subjects, are graciously pleased to create and make him our said Right trusty and well beloved and Right Reverend Father in God Henry Lord Bishop of London and his successors, Rectors of the said Parish, together with all the inhabitants from time to time inhabiting, and to inhabit in our said City of New Yorke, and in communion of our aforesaid Protestant Church of England, as now established by our laws, a body corporate and Politique, with the powers and privileges hereinafter mentioned. And accordingly our Royall will and pleasure is, and of our speciall Grace certaine knowledge and meere motion We have ordained, constituted, and declared, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, do ordaine, constitute, and declare that he, the said Right trusty and well beloved Right Reverend Father in God, Henry, Lord Bishop of London, and his successors, and all such of our loving subjects as now are or hereafter shall be, admitted into the communion of [the] aforesaid Protestant Church of England as now established by our laws, shall be from time to time and for ever hereafter a body corporate and politique, in fact and name, by the name of the Rector and Inhabitants of our said City of New Yorke, in communion of our Protestant Church of England as now established by our laws. And that by the same name they and their successors shall and may have perpetuall succession, and shall and may be persons able and capable in the law to sue and be sued, to plead and be impleaded, to answer and be answered unto, to defend and be defended in all and singular suits, causes, quarrells, matters, actions, and things of what kind or nature soever, and also to have, take, possess, receive, acquire, and purchase, lands, tenements, hereditaments, or any goods or chattells, and the same to use, lease, grant, demise, alien, bargain, sell, and dispose of at their own will and pleasure, as other our liege people, or any corporation, or body politique within our realme of England or this our Province may lawfully do, not exceeding the yearly value of five thousand pounds, the statute of mortmaine or any other statute law, custome, or usage to the contrary hereof in any ways

notwithstanding. And that the said Rector shall have the care of the souls of the inhabitants within the said parish, and in the communion of our said Protestant Church of England as now established by our laws. And have and enjoy to him and his successors for ever one messuage or tenement and appurtenances intended to be erected on part of the said church-yard, or near there unto as conveniently as can be procured. And our Royall will and pleasure is, further, that the patronage, advowson, donation, or presentation of and to the said Rectory and Parish after the decease of the said first Rector, or the next avoidance thereof, shall appertain and belong to, and he hereby vested in the Churchwardens and Vestrymen, or the major part of the said Vestrymen, together with either of the Churchwardens of Trinity Church for the time being. And that all the succeeding Rectors of the said Parish and Parish Church (except the first Rector thereof hereby constituted) shall be presented, collated, instituted, and inducted as other Rectors, Persons, and Vicars respectively are accustomed to be ; and we further declare it to be our Royal will and pleasure that the first Rector, and all the succeeding Rectors thereof, shall and may have, take, and enjoy such and the like Oblations, Mortuaryes, Easterbooks or Offerings, and other Ecclesiastical Dutyes arising within the said Parish of Trinity Church, as the Vicar, Rector, or parson of St. Mary Bow, within our city of London, in our Realme of England now enjoyeth, and shall have such and the like profits of burials in the said Church, as the same shall be limited in the instrument of dedication thereof.

And we further declare that the said Rector of the Parish of Trinity Church in communion of our Protestant Church of England within our city of New Yorke, as now established by our laws, shall and may forever hereafter have a common seale, to serve and use for all matters, causes, things and affairs whatsoever of them and their successors, and the same seale to alter, change, breake and make new from time to time, at their will and pleasure, as they shall think fit. And further we will and ordaine, and by these presents do declare and appoint, that for the better ordering and manageing of the affairs and businesse of the said Corporation ; there shall be annually and once in every year forever on the Tuesday in Easterweek two Church Wardens and twenty Vestrymen duly elected by the majority of votes of the inhabitants of the said Parish in communion as aforesaid, which Church Wardens and Vestrymen shall be from time to time subject to our laws and statutes now in force or hereafter to be made for the choice of Church Wardens, Overseers of the Poor and such other like Parish officers and other Parochiall

dutyes within the said Parish in like manner as the inhabitants of any Parish within our Province are or might be subject and liable unto (except where it shall be otherwise hereby appointed). And we do by these presents constitute and appoint Thomas Wenham and Robert Lurting the first Church Wardens of the said Parish and Caleb Heathcote, William Merritt, John Tudor, James Emott, William Morris, Thomas Clarke, Ebenezer Wilson, Samuel Burt, James Evetts, Nathaniel Marston, Michael Howden, John Crooke, William Sharpas, Lawrence Reade, David Jamison, William Huddleston, Gabriel Ludlow, Thomas Burroughs, John Merritt, and William Janeway the first Vestrymen of the said Parish, to have and to hold and execute their said respective offices till the feast of Easter, [Easter] which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and ninety-eight; and the said Church Wardens shall have and receive such and the like church dutyes and perquisites as the Church Wardens of the said Parish of St. Mary Bow do, may, might or ought to receive and shall be accomptable for the same, and all other moneys as shall come to them as Church Wardens in such manner as Church Wardens of any other Parishes within our city of London are or ought to be.

And we further declare it to be our Royall will and pleasure that the Rector, Church Wardens and Vestrymen shall make the number of the whole to be twenty-three persons, and the said Vestrymen or any eleven or more of them whereof the Rector for the time being or his assistant or clarke by appointment and one of the Church Wardens to be two, shall and may have and exercise the like power and authority for the ordering and regulating the affairs of the said Corporation and Parish of Trinity Church as the Vestry of the said Parish of St. Mary Bow now have and exercise in reference to Parish affairs, and upon the death or other voidance of any such vestrymen they or any eleven or more of them shall and may elect a fit person, inhabitant and householder in the said Parish to supply the same. And we further ordaine and declare, that the Church Wardens for the time being shall not at any time dispose of any of the Pews, or places in Pews in the said Church, to any person not an inhabitant thereof, nor without the consent and allowance of the Vestrymen for the time being or any eleven or more of them. And our further will and pleasure is, and we by these presents declare, that the Rector of the said Parish for the time being shall and may by and with the consent of the said Vestrymen and Church Wardens for the time being or any eleven or more of them, whereof one of the Churche's Wardens to be one, from time to time nominate one able Protestant minister in Priest's orders to reside in the

said Parish to be Preacher and assistant to the said Rector and his successors in the celebration of the Divine Offices of Praying and Preaching and other duties incident to be performed in the said Church and Parish, as the said Rector shall require of him, and likewise to nominate a fitt person to be Clarke of the said Parish and one or more Sexton or Sextons, to which Clarke or Sextons respectively there shall be such and the like dues, fees, perquisites and profits paid and allowed as shall be established by the said Rector, Church Wardens and Vestrymen in manner aforesaid, which said Preacher, assistant, Clarke and Sexton or Sextons and every of them shall continue in his said place during his or their naturall lives, if they shall so long inhabit there, except for some offence or misgovernment by them or any of them committed and unlesse for cause reasonable proved they shall be displaced by the said Rector for the time being by and with the consent of the said Vestrymen or any eleven or more of them; and that the Church Wardens of the said Parish of Trinity Church for the time being shall and are hereby required from time to time to pay the yearly sume of ten pounds to the Clerke to be appointed as aforesaid out of the profits and other the duties and perquisites to them accruing in the said Church and Parish by four quarterly payments, that is to say on the feast of St. Michael the Arch Angell, the birth of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist or tenn days after every of the said respective feasts by equall and even portions. And we further ordaine and declare, that the said Church Wardens and Vestrymen or any eleven or more of them are by these presents authorised and required within the space and time of three hundred days next and after the sealing and enrolling of these presents to make or cause to be made an estimate in writing under the hand or hands of some sufficient person or persons qualified for the same of the charge and finishing the said Church and steeple and providing a clock and one or more Bells for the same and other works necessary and requisite in and about the said Church and steeple, and of building a convenient house for the said Rector, and such sume or sumes of money as shall appear to them upon such estimate to be in their judgment competent to accomplish the premises and to satisfy and pay the debts incurred for or by reason of the said Church, shall be by them or any eleven or more of them charged upon all and every of the inhabitants in the said Parish, to be by them paid in seven years by twenty-eight quarterly and successive payments, the first whereof to commence and become payable to the Church Wardens for the time being, who are hereby authorised to receive the same at the first of the

feast dayes aforesaid as shall happen after the assessing and taxing thereof, and the rest to be successively to them also quarterly paid at the successive feast dayes aforesaid until all the said twenty-eight quarterly payments shall be made and finished. And the said Church Wardens and Vestrymen or any eleven or more of them are hereby required and authorised within three hundred and sixty-five dayes next and after the sealing and enrolling of these presents to assess, tax and rate the first of the said quarterly payments after a pound rate or otherwise, as they shall think most reasonable, equall and meet, and in like manner to assess every other of the said quarterly payments within forty dayes after the time of payment of the next preceding quarterly payment. All which said assessments shall be confirmed and allowed by two Justices of the Peace within the said Parish and in communion of the said Church as aforesaid under their hands and seals and be collected by such persons inhabitants of the said Parish as by the said Vestrymen or any eleven or more of them shall from time to time under their hands and seals appoint.

And we further declare that if the estimate and computation to be made as aforesaid shall not be sufficient to discharge the debts incurred about the building and finishing of the said Church and Steeple and other the works hereby intended to be done, the said Vestrymen or any eleven or more of them shall and may charge and assess such additionall sum or sums upon the said inhabitants of the said Parish in communion as aforesaid as shall be needful to perfect and accomplish the same so as such additionall sume together with the sume hereby charged and payable by the said twenty-eight quarterly payments exceed not in the whole the sume of five hundred pounds.

And We further declare it to be our Royall will and pleasure that the church wardens of the said Parish of Trinity Church shall cause all the debts, credits and contracts made and to be made with or by the artificers and workmen employed or to be employed for any work or building to be made or done in or about the said Church Steeple and premises to be entered and registered in one or more book or books to be kept for that purpose, and the said Vestrymen or any eleven or more of them out of the money collected and paid to the said Church Wardens upon the said quarterly payments or by any other ways or means for the use aforesaid, shall in the first place pay and discharge or cause to be paid and discharged, all such debts as shall become due unto the artificers and workmen employed or to be employed in and about the finishing the said Church Steeple, house and premises, and shall issue and pay or cause to be issued and paid to the said artificers and workmen

as aforesaid all and every sume and sumes of money now or hereafter due and payable unto them their executors, administrators or assigns, proportionably according to the dates of the registering of their debts and credits as aforesaid with moderate interest if need shall be for their forbearance thereof.

And We further declare that the Church Wardens of [for] the said Parish for the time being together with any eleven or more of the said Vestrymen shall upon the Tuesday of [in] Easter [easter] week yearly forever, or at any time within tenn days after the said Tuesday tax, rate and assess the yearly sume of thirty pounds upon the Inhabitants of the said Parish in Communion as aforesaid, for the payment of the Preacher assistant to be nominated and appointed as aforesaid, and for the paying and defraying the other contingent charges that may yearly accrue within the said Parish which said assessment shall be confirmed and allowed in such manner as other the assessments hereby appointed to be made as aforesaid, and be collected and paid yearly to the Church Wardens for the time being by such person and persons as the said Church Wardens and Vestrymen shall appoint at the four usuall, or times of the year before mentioned, the first payment to begin and be made at the [that] feast day next and after the said preacher assistant shall be presented and enter to assist the said Rector in the said Church in manner aforesaid, and the said Church Wardens or either of them shall pay the said yearly sume of thirty pounds over and above all charges and deductions for collecting the same to the said Preacher assistant for the time being to be nominated as aforesaid upon the said four usuall feasts or terms in the year by even and equal portions.

And We further ordaine and declare it to be our Royall will and pleasure that the said Church Wardens, together with eleven or more of the Vestrymen of the said Parish shall and are hereby authorised from time to time to make rates and assessments in manner aforesaid for the repairing and amending the said Church, Steeple, Cemetery or church yard of the said Parish when need shall be, the said rates taxes and assessments for repairing and amending the church and premises to be paid to the said Church Wardens of the said Parish and those and all other the said last mentioned taxes rates and assessments to be made and collected, confirmed and allowed as aforesaid, and moreover of our special grace certaine Knowledge and meer motion, We do give grant ratify and confirm unto the said Rector and inhabitants, of our said City of New-York in communion of our Protestant Church of England as now established by our laws that the said Church and Coemetry or Church yard scituate lying and being within our said

City of New-Yorke as aforesaid, shall be the sole and only Parish Church and Church yard of our said City of New Yorke. And our Royal pleasure is and we by these presents do declare that the said Rector of the said Parish Church is a good sufficient Protestant Minister according to the true intent and meaning of the said Act of Assembly made in the aforesaid fifth year of our Reigne entitled an Act for the settling of a ministry, &c., and as such We do further of our like speciall grace certaine Knowledge and meer motion give grant Ratifye endow appropriate and confirm unto the said Rector of the Parish of Trinity Church within our said City of New Yorke and his successors forever the aforesaid yearly maintainance of one hundred pounds directed by the said Act of Assembly to be yearly laid assessed and paid unto the said sufficient Protestant minister for his yearly maintainance, to have and to hold the said yearly maintainance of one hundred pounds aforesaid unto him the said Rector of the Parish of Trinity Church within our said City of New-Yorke and his successors to the sole and only proper use benefit and behoofe of him the said Rector of the Parish of Trinity Church within our said City of New Yorke and his successors forever. And We doe by these presents strictly charge require and command the Church Wardens and Vestrymen yearly constituted elected and appointed by the aforesaid Act of Assembly made as aforesaid that they faithfully truly and without fraud annually and once in every year forever levey assess and collect the said yearly maintainance of one hundred pounds current money aforesaid according to the rules directions and clauses in the said Act of Assembly mentioned and under the pains and penaltyes therein contained and that the said Church Wardens mentioned in the aforesaid Act of Assembly do annually in four quarterly payments pay the said yearly maintainance of one hundred pounds leveyed, assessed and collected as aforesaid unto the said Rector of the Parish of Trinity Church and to his successors forever as of right they ought to do without any delay, lett, hindrance refusall disturbance or molestation whatsoever as they and every of them will answer the contrary under the pains and penaltyes in the said Act of Assembly ordained. And We further declare that upon any neglect or refusall of the said Church Wardens and Vestrymen (appointed by the said act) of their levying assessing collecting and paying the said yearly maintainance of one hundred pounds as aforesaid that it shall and may be lawfull for the said Rector or incumbent of the said Parish for the time being to prosecute the said Church Wardens and Vestrymen in an action of debt in any of the Courts of Record within our said province wherein no Essoine, protection or wager

of law shall be allowed any thing contained in the said Act to the contrary hereof in any wayes notwithstanding.

And We do of our like speciall grace certaine Knowledge and meer motion give and grant unto the said Rector and inhabitants of our city of New Yorke in communion, &c., full power and authority from time to time to appoint, alter, and change such days and times of meeting as they shall think fitt, and to choose, nominate and appoint so many others of our Leige people as they shall think fitt, and shall be willing to accept the same to be members of the said church and corporation and body Politicque and them into the same to admitt and to elect and constitute such other officer and officers as they shall think fitt and requisite for the orderly manageing and dispatching of the affairs of the said Church and corporation and their Successors, and from time to time to make, ordaine and constitute or repeale such rules, orders and ordinances for the good and welfare of the members of the said church and corporation, so that those rules orders and ordinances be not repugnant to the laws of our Realme of England and of this our province. And We further declare, and by these presents doe give, grant, lycence and permitt unto the said Rector and inhabitants, &c., that the said Church Wardens and Vestrymen, or any other appointed by them may from time to time and at all times hereafter upon the Lords day after divine service, or at any other time or times when they shall think [it] convenient take and receive the free and voluntary gifts, alms, contributions, and offerings of all or any of our loving subjects, which collections, gatherings or receivings shall be imployed by them for and towards the finishing of the said church steeple and premises, or any other pious and charitable worke as to them shall seeme meete and convenient, any Statute or Laws to the contrary hereof in any wayes notwithstanding. To have and to hold, all and every of the premises, together with all and singular the rights, customs, usages, benefits, members, advantages, advowsons, presentations, Mortuaries, oblations, offerings, ffees, perquisites, profits, Royalties, hereditaments and appurtenances whatsoever unto the said church, church yard and premises belonging, or in any wise appertaining unto them the sd. Rector and inhabitants of our said city of New Yorke in communion of the Protestant Church of England, as now established by our laws and their successors To the sole and only use, benefit and behoofe of them, the said Rector, inhabitants, &c., and their successors forever. To be holden of us, our heirs and successors in ffree and common soccage as of our mannour of East Greenwich in our county of Kent within our Realme of England, yielding, rendering, and paying therefor yearly

and every year unto us, our heirs and successors on the feast day of the annunciation of our blessed Virgin Mary at our City of New Yorke the yearly rent of one Pepper Corne, if the same be lawfully demanded in lieu and stead of all other rents, dues, duties and demands whatsoever for the premises.

And lastly, We do for us, our heirs and successors, ordain and grant unto the said Rector and inhabitants, &c., and their successors by these presents, that these our grants shall be firme, good effectually and available in all things in the law to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever according to our true intent and meaning herein before declared, and shall be construed, reputed and adjudged in all cases most favorable, and on the behalfe and for the best benefite and behoofe of the said Rector and inhabitants, &c., and their successors, altho expresse mention of the true and yearly value, uncertainty of the premises, or any of them in these presents are not named, or any statute, act, ordinance, provision, proclamation, or restriction heretofore had, made enacted, ordained, provided, proclaimed or [and] restrained, or any other matter, clause, or thing whatsoever, to the contrary hereof in any wayes notwithstanding. And we further declare it to be our Royall Will and pleasure that nothing herein contained nor any clause or article here [herein] above mentioned shall be constructed or taken to abridge or take away any right privilege, benefite, liberty or Lycence that we have heretofore granted unto any church in communion of our Protestant faith within our said Province of New Yorke, anything contained herein to the contrary hereof in any wayes notwithstanding. In testimony whereof, wee have caused the Great seale of our said Province to be hereunto affixed. Witnesse our trusty and well beloved Benjamin Ffletcher, our Captaine Generall and Governour in Chiefe of our Province of New Yorke, and the territoryes and tracts of land depending thereon in America and Vice-Admirall of the same our Lieutenant and Commander in Chiefe of the Militia and of all the forces by sea and land within our Collony of Connecticutt and of all the fforts and places of strength within the same in Council at our ffort in New Yorke the Sixth day of May, in the ninth year of our Reigne Annoq. Domi. 1697.

BEN. FFLETCHER.

By his Excellencyes command,
DAVID JAMISON, D. Sec'ry.

STATE OF NEW YORK, SECRETARY'S OFFICE.

I have compared the preceding with a certain Instrument in writ-

ing recorded in this office in Book of Patent's No. 7, page 82, &c., and do certify that the same is a correct transcrip therefrom, and of the whole of said instrument.

ARCH'D CAMPBELL,
Dep. Sec. of State.

Albany, June 20, 1845.

II.

ACT OF 1704.¹

CHAPTER CXLI.

An Act for granting sundry privileges and Powers to the Rector and Inhabitants of the City of New York, of the Communion of the Church of England, as by Law established. Passed the 27th of June, 1704.²

Whereas, the Inhabitants of the city of New-York, of the Communion of the *Church of England*, as by Law established, for some years past, by voluntary contribution of themselves and others, favoring the Church's Interest, have erected a Church within the said City, for the service and worship of Almighty God, called, and known by the name of *Trinity Church*; and have purchased and procured, and do quietly and peaceably hold, use, exercise, and enjoy the said Church, with the Cemetry or Burying-place, and a certain Tract of land belonging thereunto, bounded easterly upon the street commonly called *Broadway*, containing in Breadth, on the West side of the said street, three hundred and ten foot, or thereabouts, from the north-east corner of the ground commonly called the *Queen's Garden*, to the land of *John Hutchins*, esq.; thence by a straight line along the north side of the said Burying-Place, continued to Low Water Mark of *Hudson's River*; thence by a line Southward along the said River three hundred ninety and five foot, all *English* measure; and from thence by the line of the said Garden easterly, to the place where it begun; together with sundry Powers, Rights, Privileges, and Preheminences, necessary for the manageing of the affairs of the said Church; which by the Blessing of God has been attended with great success; and the congregation thereof being much increased, calls for suitable Encouragement; To the end therefore, that such religious work may be founded upon some

¹ From Van Schaack's edition, p. 60.

² Repealed by Sec. 6 of act of 17th April 1784: see Appendix vi, p. 476.

lasting foundation, grow up and become fruitful, to the praise and glory of God, the good example of others, and the benefit of their posterity and successors.

I. BE IT ENACTED by his Excellency Edward Viscount Cornbury, Captain General and Governor-in-Chief of the Colony of New-York, by and with the consent of her Majesty's Council, and this General Assembly, and by authority of the same, That from henceforward forever hereafter, the Rector and Inhabitants of the said City of *New-York*, in Communion of the Church of *England*, as by law established and their successors, be, and shall be able and capable in the law, for the maintainance and recovery of their estates, rights, and privileges whatsoever, to sue, and be sued, plead and be impleaded, to answer and be answered unto, defend and be defended by the same name of *the Rector and Inhabitants of the City of New-York, in Communion of the Church of England as by Law established*, in all suits, Quarrels, Controversies, Causes, Actions, Matters and Things whatsoever, in any Court or Courts of Common Law or Equity whatsoever ; and that by the same Name they and their Successors do and shall lawfully have, hold, use exercise, and enjoy all and singular their said Church Burying Place, and Land thereto belonging, with the Hereditaments and Appurtenances, heretofore by them and their predecessors by whatsoever Name or Names the same were purchased and had, or to them given or granted, and by them or any of them used and enjoyed for the Uses aforesaid, to them and their Successors, to the sole and only proper Use and Benefit of the said Rector and Inhabitants, and their Successors forever, in as firm and ample Manner, in the Law, as if the said Rector and Inhabitants had been legally incorporated, and made capable in the Law to take, receive, purchase, have, hold, use, and enjoy the same, at, and before the purchasing, taking, receiving, and holding of the said Cemetry, and Lands thereunto belonging, and lawfully had, held, and enjoyed the same ; any Law, Usage, or Custom to the contrary thereof, in anywise notwithstanding.

II. AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Rector and Inhabitants and their Successors by the same Name from henceforward, forever, have, and shall have full Power, good Right, and lawful Authority, to have, take, receive, acquire and purchase, and use, and enjoy Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, Goods and Chattels ; and to demise, lease and improve the said lands tenements and hereditaments, and to use and improve such goods and Chattels, to the benefit of the said Church, and other pious uses, not exceeding *Five Hundred Pounds* yearly Rent, or Income ; any Law,

Usage, or Custom to the Contrary hereof in any Wise notwithstanding. And it shall and may be lawful for the said Rector and Inhabitants, and their Successors to finish and adorn the said Church, alter enlarge, and amend the same or any part ; as also to erect and build a convenient dwelling House, Garden, and Appurtenances, for the Use of their Rector for the Time being, a Vestry Room, Charnel House, and other necessities of the said Church ; and to enclose, support, and maintain the same from Time to Time, as there shall be need thereof.

III. AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED *by the Authority aforesaid*, That the said Church and Premises, be from henceforward forever set apart and separated for the Religious Uses aforesaid ; and that the Patronage and Advowson of the said Church, and Right of Presentation (after the Death of the Present Rector, or upon next Avoidance, and forever thereafter) shall belong and appertain to the Church-Wardens, and Vestrymen of the said Church, annually elected or to be elected, by the Inhabitants aforesaid, in Communion as aforesaid, in Manner hereafter mentioned, and expressed, or to the major part of said Church-Wardens and Vestry-men for the Time being, whereof one Church-Warden always to be one ; which Rectors shall be instituted and inducted into the said Church, in such manner, and always as shall be most suitable and agreeable to her Majesty's instructions to his Excellency the Governor of this Colony for the Time being, and that Canonical Right and Authority, which the Right Reverend Father in God, *Henry* Lord Bishop of *London* and his Successors, hath, and shall have over the said Church.

IV. AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED *by the Authority aforesaid*, That the succeeding Rector or Incumbent of the said Church, next after the Death or other Avoidance of Mr. William Vesey, present Rector and his Successors forever, be, and shall be instituted, authorized, and empowered, to have, and receive, and shall have, and receive the sum of One Hundred Pounds yearly, raised and levied upon the Inhabitants of the said City, for the maintenance of a good sufficient Protestant Minister in the City aforesaid, by virtue of an act of General Assembly, of this Colony, made and enacted in the fifth year of the Reign of King William and Queen Mary, entitled, *An act for settling a Ministry, and raising a Maintenance for them in the City of New York, County of Richmond, West-Chester and Queen's County ;* any Law, Custom, or Usage, to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

V. AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED *by the Authority aforesaid*, That it shall and may be lawful for the said Rector and Inhabitants, in Communion as aforesaid, and their Successors, forever hereafter, to have,

and use a common Seal ; and the same to alter, break, and new make at their discretion.

VI. AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED *by the Authority aforesaid*, That it shall and may be lawful for the Inhabitants aforesaid, to assemble and meet together on Tuesday in *Easter* Week, annually at the said Church, to chuse two Church-Wardens, and Twenty Vestry-men, Communicants of the said Church, to serve and officiate for the next ensuing year ; by the Majority of the voice of the said Communicants, so met and not otherwise ; which said Church-Wardens so chosen, and hereafter to be chosen annually, have, and shall have like Power, and Authority to do, execute and perform their said Offices, respectively as Church-Wardens and Vestry-men in *England* have, unless some particular difference may happen, by the express power and direction of this present Act of General Assembly. And it shall, and may be lawful for the said Church Wardens, or one of them at any Time or Times, and so often as shall be needful, to call a meeting of the Vestry-men of said Church, to meet the Rector for the Time being, if any there be, and Church Wardens or one of them ; which said Rector and Church Wardens or one of them, and Majority of the Vestry-men, for the time being, have, and shall have Power to make such Rules and Orders, for managing the affairs of said the Church as they or the said Rector and one Church Warden, with the Major number of the Vestry-men, so, from Time to Time met and assembled, shall agree upon ; which said majority of Vestry-men together with the Rector and one Church Warden at least, shall have the sole Disposition and ordering of all payment of the Church's Monies ; all which Rules, Orders and payments shall be fairly entered and kept in books for that purpose ; *Provided, nevertheless*, in case of the Death of the said Rector, and before the said Church be supplied with another, that the same Powers and Authorities relating to the making of Rules and Orders, as also the Disposition and payment of the Church's Money, be fully invested in the Church Wardens for the time being, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Major number of the whole Vestry-men, and not otherwise, to be entered and kept in manner aforesaid ; anything herein contained to the contrary thereof notwithstanding. And it shall and may be lawful for the said Church Wardens and Vestry-men, or Major Part of them, whereof, one Church Warden always to be one, without their Rector, to establish and regulate all Fees and Perquisites of their Rector, Clerk, Sexton, and other officers of said Church, provided none of the Fees or perquisites shall exceed the Fees or Perquisites usually taken in *England* by such Officers respectively, with regard to the Difference of the Value of Money in

this Colony ; as also for the said Church Wardens and Vestry-men or major part of them, with their said Rector to regulate and order the Perquisites of the Church growing and coming by the breaking of the ground in the Cemetry or Church Yard, and in the Church for burying the Dead, provided the Perquisites for breaking the ground in the Cemetry or Church Yard shall not exceed the Perquisites reserved and mentioned in the Grant thereof made by the Mayor, Alderman, and Commonalty of the City of *New-York*, for the use of Trinity Church aforesaid ; And in Case the Church Wardens or Vestrymen or any of them happen to die within the year it shall be lawful for the Inhabitants aforesaid, in Communion as aforesaid at any Time, upon such Emergency to meet at the said Church upon Notice given by the Rector, to elect and chuse others so qualified as aforesaid in their Room ; who shall have full Power and Authority to do, execute and perform the Offices of such as they shall be so chosen to succeed, respectively, until the Time of next annual Election. And upon the Alteration of any Church Wardens, by Death or otherwise the preceding Church Warden or Wardens of the said Church, shall deliver over to their Successors, in that Office all Deeds, Charters, Evidences, Books, Matters, and things whatsoever, belonging to the said Church, in their Custody by Indentures containing an Inventory of them, interchangeably under their Hands, which Indentures shall be exhibited and shewn to the Vestry-men at first Meeting, next after such annual Election, or other alteration happening.

VII. AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED *by the Authority aforesaid*, That it shall and may be lawful for the Rector for the Time being of the said Church upon avoidance of such Officers, to nominate and appoint a Clerk, Sexton, or Sextons for the said Church ; and that the Clerk, Sexten, or Sextons of the said Church be, and continue in their respective Offices during their natural lives, unless they voluntarily surrender, become incapable of serving by sickness or other infirmity, or misbehave themselves, in which case it shall be in the Power of the Rector of the said Church for the Time being, with Advice and Consent of the Church Wardens, or one of them, and Vestry-men, or major part of them to displace or remove such Officer and Officers so misbehaving themselves, and not otherwise.

VIII. AND LASTLY, BE IT ENACTED *by the authority aforesaid*, That this present Act, and the several Powers, Privileges and Liberties therein and thereby granted to the Rector and Inhabitants aforesaid, in Communion as aforesaid, and their Successors forever be, and shall be construed and understood most favorably for the Benefit of said

Church, according to the true Intent and Meaning of his Excellency the Governor, and Council and Assembly aforesaid.

IX. PROVIDED, NEVERTHELESS, That this present Act of General Assembly, nor anything therein contained, shall be construed or understood to extend *to abridge or take away the Indulgency or Liberty of Conscience, granted or allowed to other Protestant Christians*, by an Act of Parliament, made in the first year of the reign of the late King William and Queen Mary of blessed memory, entitled *An Act for exempting their Majestie's Protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England, from the penalty of certain Laws* or by any other Law or Statute of the Realm of *England* or this plantation ; anything in this present Act contained or misconstrued to the contrary thereof in any ways notwithstanding.

III.

QUEEN ANNE'S GRANT.

Anne, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the faith, &c., To all to whom these presents shall come, or may concern, send greeting :

Whereas, the Rector and Inhabitants of the City of New-York, in communion of the Church of England as by law established, were (by an act of Assembly made in the third year of our reigne, entitled *An act granting sundry privileges and powers to the Rector and Inhabitants of the City of New-York, of the communion of the Church of England as by the law established,*) incorporated by the name of the Rector and Inhabitants of the City of New-York in communion of the Church of England as by law established, and made persons corporate in the law to sue or to be sued in any action or matter whatsoever ; and by that name they and their successors should hold and enjoy the Church there called Trinity Church, burying-place and lands thereunto belonging, by whatever name or names the same were purchased and had ; and that the said Rector and Inhabitants, and their successors by the same name from thenceforward should have good rights and lawful authority to have, take, receive, acquire, and purchase and use and enjoy lands, tenements and hereditaments, goods and chattels, and to demise, lease and improve the said lands, tenements and hereditaments, and to use and improve such goods and chattels to the benefit of the said Church and other pious uses, not exceeding five hundred pounds yearly rents or incomes, with diverse other privileges

and powers to them the said Rector and Inhabitants, and their successors, as by the said recited act more at length it doth and may appear.

And whereas the said Rector and Inhabitants of the said City of New-York, in communion of the Church of England as by law established by their petition to our right trusty and well beloved cousin, Edward Viscount Cornbury, our Captain General and Governor in Chiefe in and over our province of New-York and territories thereon depending in America, and Vice Admiral of the same, have humbly prayed that wee would grant and confirm unto them and their successors for the use of the said Church, all those our severall closes, peeces and parcells of land, meadows and pastures formerly called the Duke's Farme, and the King's Farme, now known by the name of the Queen's Farme, with all and singular ye fences, inclosures, improvements and appurtenances whatsoever thereunto belonging as the same are now in the occupation of and enjoyed by George Ryerse of the City of New-York, yeoman, or by any former tenant, scituate, lying and being on the Island Manhattan in the city of New-York aforesaid, and bounded on the East, partly by the Broadway, partly by the Common, and partly by the Swamp, and on the West by Hudson's River, and also all that our piece or parcell of ground, scituate and being on the south side of the churchyard of Trinity Church aforesaid, commonly called and known by the name of the Queen's Garden, fronting to the said Broadway on the East, and extending to low water marke upon Hudson River on the West, all which said premises are now lett at the yearly rent of thirty pounds, which reasonable request wee being willing to grant; know ye that of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge, and meer motion, we have given, granted, ratified and confirmed in and by these presents, for ourself, our heirs, and successors, we do give, grant, rattify and confirm unto the said Rector and Inhabitants of the City of New-York in communion of the Church of England as by law established and their successors all and singular the said farme lands, tenements and hereditaments hereinbefore mentioned, as the same are hereinbefore particularly set forth, with the appurtenances and every part and parcell thereof or thereunto belonging or accepted, reputed, or taken as part parcell or member thereof as the same now are held, occupied and enjoyed by the said George Ryerse, or have been heretofore occupied and enjoyed by any former tenant or tenants, and all rents, arrearages of rents, issues and profits thereof, and of every or any part or parcell thereof together with all woods, underwoods, trees, timber which now are standing and growing, or which hereafter shall stand and grow in and upon the premises hereby granted, or any part thereof, and all

feedings, pastures, meadows, marshes, swamps, ponds, pooles, waters, watercourses, rivers, rivolets, runs and streams of water brooks, fishing, fowling, hawking, hunting, mines and minerals, and all and singular the ways, passages, easements, profits, commodities and appurtenances whatsoever to the said farm, several closes, peeces and parcells of land and premises belonging or in any wise of right appertaining (except and always reserved out of this, our present grant all gold and silver mines.)

To have and to hold the said farme, severall closes, pieces and parcells of land and premises hereinbefore granted and confirmed or meant, mentioned, or intended to be hereby granted and confirmed with their and every of their appurtenances (except before excepted) unto the said Rector and Inhabitants of the City of New-York in communion with the Church of England as by law established, and their successors forever. To be holden of us, our heirs and successors in free and common socage as of our Manor of East Greenwich in our County of Kent, within our kingdom of England, yielding, rendering, and paying therefore yearly and every year unto us, our heirs and successors at our City of New-York aforesaid to our Collector and Receiver General there for the time being, on the feast of the Nativity of our blessed Saviour the yearly rent of three shillings current money of New-York in lieu and stead of all other rents, services, dues, duties and demands whatsoever, Provided always, and our present grant is upon this condition that if our Capt. Generall and Govr. in Chief for the time being of our said Province of New-York, shall at any time hereafter cease or forbear the yearly payment of six and twenty pounds for the house rent of the Rector or Minister of Trinity Church of New-York aforesaid, which is now paid out of our revenue in the said province, and at such time, no suitable house shall be erected and built for the proper use and convenient dwelling of the Rector of the said Church for the time being, yt then the said Rector and Inhabitants of the said City of New-York, in Communion of the Church of England as by law established, and their successors shall from thenceforth yearly, and every year, out of the rents and profits of the hereinbefore granted lands and premises, pay and discharge the same for and until such suitable house shall be erected and built for the proper use and convenient dwelling of the Rector of the said Church for the time being, any thing herein before in this our grant contained to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. In testimony whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patents, and the seal of our said province of New-York to our said letters pattent to be affixed and the same to be recorded in the Secretary's Office

of our Province. Witness our Right trusty and well beloved cousin Edward Viscount Cornbury, Capt. Generall and Govr. in Chief in and over our province aforesaid and territory depending thereon in America and Vice Admirall of the same &c. in Council at our fort in New-York aforesaid the three and twentieth day of November, in the fourth year of our reigne anno Dm. 1705.

STATE OF NEW-YORK, SECRETARY'S OFFICE.

I certify the preceding to be a true copy of certain letters patent as of record in this office, in Book of Patents No. 7, page 338, &c.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto affixed the seal of this
L. S. Office, at the City of Albany, the 9th day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty.

ARCH'D CAMPBELL, Deputy Secretary.

IV.

CONFIRMATION OF QUEEN ANNE'S GRANT.

ANNE R.

Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well

Whereas, our trusty and well beloved, the Rector, Church Wardens, and Vestrymen of Trinity Church in our City of New-York, have by their humble address, represented unto us, that our right trusty and our right well beloved cousin and councillor Edward, Earl of Clarendon, our late governor of our province of New-York, did grant a lease of our farm to them for seven years, under the rent of sixty bushels of wheat yearly payable unto us, (the like having been before granted to Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, Governor under our late royal brother, King William, with the like reservation,) but as these rents were esteemed a perquisite of the several governors, for the time being, the said Colonel Fletcher, who was a great benefactor and promoter of the first settling of that Church, did remit the rent during his time for that pious use, as also did the Earl of Clarendon, so much as accrued under the lease granted in his time.

And that the said Earl, for promoting the interest of the said Church, and settling a lasting foundation for its support, did by virtue of the authority derived from us, under our great seal of England, grant the same farm under the seal of our province of New-York, to the Rector and inhabitants of the city of New-York, in communion of the Church

of England, as by law established, and their successors for ever, under the yearly rent of three shillings.

But that the corporation of the said Church, are now prosecuted in our Court of Chancery, there in our name, for the several rents reserved on the leases before granted, and by the several governors before remitted, and that our letters patent for the said farm, are rendered disputable, and therefore humbly imploring, that we will be graciously pleased to give such directions for stopping the said prosecution as we shall think fit.

We taking the premises into our royal consideration have thought fit to signify our will and pleasure unto you, and accordingly our will and pleasure is, that immediately upon receipt hereof, you do stop the prosecution now carrying on in our court of chancery there against the said corporation, and do not suffer any further proceedings to be had in that suit, until we shall signify our further pleasure to you, and for so doing, this shall be your warrant, and so we bid you farewell.

Given at our Court of St. James, the 14th day of April, 1714, in the thirteenth year of our reign. By her Majesty's Command.

BOLINGBROKE.

V.

SECTION 36 OF THE STATE CONSTITUTION OF 1777.

Section 36. And be it further ordained, That all grants of land within this State, made by the King of Britain, or persons acting under his authority, after the fourteenth day of October, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, shall be null and void ; but that nothing in this Constitution contained shall be construed to affect any grants of land within this State, made by the authority of the said King or his predecessors, or to annul any charters to bodies politic, by him, or them, or any of them, made prior to that day.

VI.

ACT OF 1784.¹

An act for making such Alterations in the Charter of the Corporation of Trinity Church, as to render it more conformable to the Constitution of the State.

Passed 17th April, 1784.

WHEREAS by letters patent under the great seal of the then colony, and now State of New-York, bearing date the sixth day of May, in the

¹ Taken from vol. i. of Jones's and Varick's edition, p. 128.

year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and ninety-seven, many of the inhabitants of the city of New-York, members of the Church of England, were erected into a corporation, by the name and style of the Rector and Inhabitants of the City of New-York, of the Protestant Church of England, as by Law established.

And whereas, on the twenty-seventh day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and four, the Legislature of the then colony, and now State aforesaid, did pass a law, entitled, "An Act for granting sundry Privileges and Powers to the Rector and inhabitants of the City of New-York, in Communion of the Church of England, as by law established."

And whereas those parts of the said charter which render necessary the induction of a rector to the said church by the governor, according to such instructions as he shall from time to time receive from his Britannic majesty, and such other parts of the said charter and law as admit and acknowledge that rights exist in the bishop of London, in and over the said church, are inconsistent with the spirit and letter of the constitution of this state.

And whereas certain other parts of the said charter and law, and of a certain other law passed the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and ninety-three, by the Legislature of the then colony aforesaid, entitled, "An Act for settling a Ministry, and raising a Maintainance for them in the City of New-York, and County of Richmond, Westchester, and Queen's County," are contradictory to that equality of religious rights which is designed to be established by the constitution of this state :

I. *Be it therefore enacted by the people of the state of New-York, represented in Senate and Assembly, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same*, that so much of the charter to the said body corporate above particularly mentioned, and so much of the said law first above particularly mentioned, as relate to the induction of the rector by the governor, to the powers or authority of the bishop of London, in and over the said corporation, and to the collecting and levying a sum of money upon the city of New-York, for the use of the rector or incumbent in the said law mentioned, be, and they are hereby repealed and annulled ; and that nothing in this law, nor no non-user, or mis-uses, between the nineteenth day of April, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, and the passing of this law, shall be in any wise construed to annul, injure, repeal, or make void the said charter, or the said law first above particularly mentioned, where the same are not inconsistent with the constitution of this state.

II. *And be it further enacted, and it is hereby enacted by the authority aforesaid,* that the church-wardens and vestry-men of the said corporation, or a majority of them, be vested with full powers to call and induct a rector to the said church, so often as there shall be any vacancy therein.

And whereas doubts have arisen on those parts of the said charter and law first above mentioned, which speak of inhabitants in communion of the said church of England ; for removal whereof ;

✓ III. *Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* that all persons professing themselves members of the Episcopal Church, who shall either hold, occupy, or enjoy a pew or seat in the said church, and shall regularly pay to the support of the said church, and such others as shall in the said church partake of the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, at least once in every year, being inhabitants of the city and county of New-York, shall be entitled to all the rights, privileges, benefits and emoluments, which in and by the said charter and law first above mentioned, are designed to be secured to the inhabitants of the city of New-York in communion of the Church of England.

And whereas by the events of war, and in consequence of the capture of the city of New-York by the troops of his Britannic majesty, many of the well-affected inhabitants of the said city, who by the said charter and law were entitled to vote for members of the said corporation, were prevented from the due exercise of their rights, and many others who remained in this city, were deterred from voting by well-grounded apprehensions of the forces of his Britannic majesty, then in possession of the said city ; by reason whereof no elections were held, but under the influence of the government of Great Britain, then at open war with this state ;

And whereas the council appointed by the act of the Legislature, entitled, "An act to provide for the temporary government of the southern parts of this state, whenever the enemy shall abandon or shall be dispossessed of the same, and until the Legislature can be convened," passed the twenty-third of October, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, upon the petition of sundry persons, styling themselves members of the said church ; and after a full hearing of certain other persons, claiming to be the church-wardens and vestry-men of the said church, reciting that there was, in the opinion of the council, reason to believe that the dissensions respecting the said church might materially endanger the peace of the said city, did, in effect, determine the said places of church-wardens and vestrymen to be vacant ; and by their ordinance, dated the twelfth day of January,

one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, did vest the estate, real and personal, of the said corporation, in James Duane, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris, Isaac Sears, William Duer, Daniel Dunscomb, Anthony Lisenard, John Rutherford, and William Bedlow, to be retained and kept by them, or any five of them, until such time as further legal provision should be made in the premises ;

And whereas it appears, that the following persons have been nominated and chosen, by a very respectable number of the members of the said corporation and society, as church-wardens and vestrymen, and by their humble petition have prayed that the said persons may be appointed as such.

IV. *Be it therefore further enacted, and it is hereby enacted by the authority aforesaid*, that James Duane and Robert R. Livingston be the present church-wardens of the said corporation ; and that Anthony Griffiths, Hercules Mulligan, Marinus Willet, John Stevens, Robert Troup, Thomas Tucker, Joshua Sands, Richard Morris, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris, Isaac Sears, Daniel Dunscomb, William Bedlow, William Duer, John Rutherford, Anthony Lisenard, Thomas Grennell, William Mercier, Thomas Tillotson, and Christopher Miller, be the vestrymen of the said corporation ; the said church-wardens and vestrymen to hold their places until the first usual day of election for church-wardens and vestrymen, which shall be held after Easter Sunday, which will be in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five ; and that in the mean time in case of any vacancy by death or resignation of the rector, or either of the church-wardens or vestrymen, such vacancy to be filled up by the remaining church-wardens and vestrymen, in such manner as is prescribed in and by the charter and law constituting the said corporation as aforesaid.

V. *Provided nevertheless, and be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid*, that nothing in this act contained, shall be construed, deemed, or taken to prejudice or injure the right or title of any person or persons whatsoever, to any of the lands or tenements occupied or claimed by the corporation aforesaid.

And in order fully to carry into full effect those parts of the constitution of this state, which declare that the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall for ever hereafter be allowed within this state to all mankind, and that all acts of the Legislature of this state while a colony, and all parts thereof which may be construed to establish or maintain any particular denomination of christians, or their ministers, be abrogated and rejected as repugnant to the said constitution.

And in order to remove all doubts which may arise in the minds of any persons with respect to the continuance, force, and effect of a certain act of the Legislature of this state while a colony, passed on the twenty-second day of September, one thousand six hundred and ninety-three, entitled, "An Act for settling a Ministry, and raising a Maintenance for them in the City of New York, County of Richmond, Westchester, and Queen's County"; and also of one other act, passed on the twenty-seventh day of June, one thousand seven hundred and four, entitled, "An Act for granting sundry Privileges and Powers to the Rector and inhabitants of the City of New York, of the Communion of the Church of England, as by Law established"; and also of another act, passed on the fourth day of August, one thousand seven hundred and five, entitled, "An Act for the better explaining and more effectually putting in Execution an Act of General Assembly, entitled, An Act for settling a Ministry, and raising a Maintenance for them in the City of New York, County of Richmond, Westchester, and Queen's County"; and also of one other act, passed on the twenty-seventh day of July, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-one, entitled, "An Act for the more equal and impartial assessing the Minister and Poor's Tax, to be raised within the City and County of New-York, Queen's County, Westchester County, and the County of Richmond"; and also of one other act, passed the twenty-first day of September, one thousand seven hundred and forty-four, entitled, "An Act to alter the Time of electing Vestrymen and Church-wardens in Richmond County"; and also certain parts of one other act, passed the twenty-ninth day of November, one thousand seven hundred and forty-five, entitled, "An Act to enable the Inhabitants of the City of New-York, to choose annually two Vestrymen for each respective Ward within the said City," which do grant certain Immunities, Emoluments, and Privileges to the Episcopal Church, or that mode of Religious Worship, commonly called the Church of England, in the City and County of New-York, and the Counties of Richmond, Queen's and Westchester, and do establish and maintain the Ministers of that Denomination within the said Counties; and do also declare or imply a pre-eminence or distinction of the said Episcopal Church, or Church of England, over all other churches and other religious denominations.

VI. *Be it therefore further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said acts for settling the ministry, and raising a maintenance for them in the city of New York, counties of Richmond, Westchester, and Queen's county; for granting sundry privileges and powers to the rector and inhabitants of the city of New York, of the communion of the Church*

of England, as by law established ; for the better explaining and more effectually putting in execution an act of the General Assembly, entitled, An Act for the settling the Ministry and raising a Maintenance for them in the city of New-York, County of Richmond, Westchester, and Queen's County ; for the more equal and impartial assessing the Minister and Poor's Tax, to be raised in the City and County of New-York, Queen's County, Westchester County, and the county of Richmond ; for altering the Time of electing Vestrymen and Church-wardens in Richmond County ; and also such certain parts of the act for enabling the inhabitants of the city of New-York to choose annually two vestrymen for each respective ward within the said city, as do imply such pre-eminence and distinction, be, and are hereby declared to be fully and absolutely abrogated, abolished, annulled, repealed, and made void, as inconsistent with, and repugnant to the constitution of this state : And it is hereby further declared, that nothing in this act contained shall in any wise be construed or understood to give any kind of pre-eminence or distinction to the Episcopal mode of religious worship within this state ; but that an universal equality between every religious denomination, according to the true spirit of the constitution, towards each other, shall for ever prevail.

VII. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, that nothing in this act contained, shall be deemed, esteemed, adjudged, or construed, to enlarge or confirm any right, power, or authority, but such as the said corporation legally had, held, and enjoyed on the nineteenth day of April, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, and such other powers, rights and authorities as are expressly given by this act.

VII.

DOCUMENTS CONNECTED WITH THE INSTITUTION OF THE REVEREND WILLIAM VESEY.

These following papers were recorded at the request of Mr. William Vesey, Rector of Trinity Church in New Yorke :

TENORE p̃sentium NOS HENRICUS permissione Divina LONDINENSIS EPISCOPUS notum facimus Universis, quod die secundo Mensis augusti Anno Dom. Millesimo Sexcentesimo nonagesimo¹ in Capella nostra intra pallatium nostrum de Fulham Middlesexiæ, nos p̃fatus HENRICUS LONDINENSIS EPISCOPUS antedictus sacros ordines Dei omnipotentis p̃sidio celebrantes : Dilectum Nobis in Christo Gulielmum Vesey A. M.: ex Universate Oxoñ de vita sua Laudabili ac

¹ Evidently the transcriber has omitted the word "septimo."

morum & virtū suarum donis Nobis multipliciter Comendatum ac in Bonarum Liturarum studio & Scientia Eruditum & per nos & alios quo ad omnia in ea parte requisita examinatum & approbatum, in sacrum Diaconatus ordinem juxta morem & ritum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ in hac parte salubriter editos & provisos admisimus & promovimus Ipsumque in Diaconum Rite & Canonice tunc & ibidem ordinavimus. IN CUJUS REI TESTIMONIUM Sigillum Nostrum Episcopale presentibus apponi fecimus. Datis die & anno p̃dictus Nostræque translationis anno vicesimo Secundo. H. LONDON.

Tenore presentium NOS HENRICUS permissione Divina LONDINENSIS EPISCOPUS notum facimus Universis, quod die Secundo mensis augusti anno Dom.—Millesimo Sexcentesimo nonagesimo septimo in Capella nostra intra palatium nostrum de Fulham Middlesexiæ, nos p̃fatus HENRICUS LONDINENSIS EPISCOPUS antedictos sacros ordines dei omnipotentis p̃sidio Celebrantes dilectum nobis in Christo Gulielmum Vesey A. M. ex universitate oxoni de vita Sua Laudabili ac morum et virtutum Suarum donis Nobis multipliciter Comendatur ac in bonarum literarum Studio & scientia eruditum & per nos & alios quo ad omnia in ea parte requisita examinatum & approbatum in Sacrum Presbyteratus Ordinem juxta morem & ritum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ in hac parte Salubriter editos & provisos admisimus & promovimus Ipsumque in presbyterum rite & canonice tunc & ibidem ordinavimus. IN CUJUS REI TESTIMONIUM Sigillum nostrum Episcopale p̃sentibus apponi fecimus. Datis die & anno p̃dictis nostreque Translationis anno vicesimo secundo. H. LONDON.

HENRY, by divine permission LORD BISHOP OF LONDON To all to whom these presents Shall or may Consern, health in our Lord God Everlasting. WHEREAS, by an Act of parliament made in the first year of our Sovereign Lord & Lady King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, Entituled, an Act for the abrogateing of the oaths of Supremacy & Allegiance and appointing other oaths: it is provided & Enacted that Every person, at his or their respective admission to be incumbent in any Ecclesiasticall promotion or dignity in the Church of England shall subscribe & declare before his ordinary in Manner & form as in the sd. act is conteined Now KNOW YEE that on the day of the date hereof did personally appear before us, Mr. William Vesey to be admitted to the Ministeriall function in ye City of New Yorke & subscribed as followeth as by the said act is required. I William Vesey do declare that i will Conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England as it is Now by law Established. In WITNESS whereof we have caused our

H E N R I C U S Permissione Divina Londinensis Episcopus,
Dilecto nobis in Christo *Galfrido Varty Episcopo* ~~~~ Salutem
& Gratiam: Ad peragendum Officium *Parochi in Ecclesia de New York*
in parochia Occidentalis ~~~~ in Precibus Communi-
bus aliisque Ministeriis Ecclesiasticis ad Officium *Parochi* ~~~~ pertinentibus
juxta Formam descriptam in Libro Publicarum Precum Autoritate Parliamenti
hujus Incltyti Regni *Angliae*, in ea parte edit' & provis', & Canones & Constituti-
ones in ea parte legitime stabilitas & publicatas, & non aliter neque alio modo:
Tibi de cujus fidelitate, morum integritate, Literarum scientia, sana Doctrina &
Diligentia plurimum confidimus (praestito primum per te Juramento tam de ag-
noscendo Regiam Supremam Majestatem, juxta vim, formam, & effectum Statu-
ti Parliamenti dicti Regni *Angliae* in ea parte edit' & provis' quam de Canonica
Obedientia Nobis & Successoribus nostris in omnibus licitis & honestis per te
praestanda & exhibenda, subscriptisque per te tribus illis Articulis mentionatis in
Tricesimo sexto Capitulo Libri Constitutionum sive Canonum Ecclesiasticorum
Anno Dom. 1604. Regia Autoritate editorum & promulgatorum) Licentiam
& Facultatem nostram concedimus & impartimur per praesentes: ad nostrum Be-
neplacitum duntaxat duraturas: *In cujus Rei Testimonium* Sigillum nostrum, (quo
in similibus plerunque utimur) praesentibus apponi fecimus.

Dat. secundo die Augusti 1697.

London

[illegible]

Seale Manual to be affixed to these presents Dated the second day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred ninety-seven, & in the 22cond year of our Translation.

HENRICUS permissione Divina Londinensis Episcopus Dilecto Nobis in Christo Gulielmo Vesey Clerico Salutam & Gratiam : ad peragendum Officium parochi in Ecclesia de New Yorke in partibus occidentalibus in presibus Communibus aliisque Ministeriis Ecclesiasticis ad officium parochi pertinentibus juxta formam descriptam in Libro publicarum precum autoritate parlamenti hujus Inclyti Regni Angliæ in ea parte edit & provis. & Canones & Constitutiones in ea parte Legitime Stabilitas & publicatas et non aliter neque alio modo tibi de cujus fidelitate, morum Integritate, Literarum Scientia, Sana Doctrina & diligentia plurimum Confidimus (prestito primitus per te Juramento tam de agnosendo regiam Supremam Majestatem Juxta vim, formam et Effectum Statuti parlamenti dicti regni Angliæ in Ea parte Edit. & provis. quam de Canonica obedientia Nobis et Successoribus nostris in omnibus licitis & honestis per te prestanda & exhibenda Subscriptisque per te Tribus illis Articulis mentionatis in Tricesimo Sexto Capitulo Libri Constitutionum sive Canonum Ecclesiasticorum anno Domini 1604 regia Autoritate Editorum & promulgatorum) Licentiam & facultatem Nostram Consedimus & Impartimus per presentes ad nostrum beneplacitum Duntaxit Duraturas. IN CUJUS REI TESTIMONIUM Sigillum nostrum quo in similibus plerumque utimur presentibus apponi fecimus. Dat. secundo die Augusti.¹

By HIS EXCELLY. Coll. Benjamin Fletcher, Capt. Genll. & Govr. in Cheif of the Province of New Yorke, &c.

THESE are to Certifie unto all to whom these presents shall come or may concern that on Sunday the 13th March Instant at the first opening of Trinity Church in New Yorke, after y^e reading the Morning & Evening Service Mr. William Vesey did declare before his Congregation his unfeigned assent and consent to all & everything contained & prescribed in, & by the book Entituled the book of Comon prayer & administration of the Sacraments & other rites & Ceremonies of the Church according to the use of the Church of England, together with the Salter or psalmes of David pointed as they are to be Sung or Said in Churches in the form & manner of makeing Consecrateing & ordayning & Consecrateing of bishops, priestes & Deacons & in the Time of divine service did read a Certificate from the Rt. Reverend father in God, HENRY LORD BISHOP OF LONDON that he had subscribed the ac-

¹ The original of this document belongs to the New York Historical Society, who courteously gave permission for the reproduction of it, here inserted.

knowledge & Declaration according to the act of Uniformity. IN TESTIMONY whereof I have hereunto sett my hand seale at New Yorke the 25th of March, Annoque Domini, 1698. BEN : FFLETCHER.¹

VIII.

CLERICAL INCOMES, IN 1738.²
PROVINCES OF NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY, ANNO
DOMINI 1738.

New York.

Missionary's Income from their Congregations for the Year 1738.

		Paper and		Equal Ster-	
		Currency.		ling monies.	
	Income by Subscription..	£	s. d.	to	£ s. d. ³
The Reverend Mr. Charlton, the Society's cate-chist for the city of New York...		82	10	5	
Mr. Standerd....	West Chester.....	Settled salary.			
		52	50	31	5
	Perquisites by estimation..				
Mr. Colgan.....	Jamaica, Long Island....	Salary settled by a fund of the Province.			
		60		36	7 3
	Perquisites by estimation.	3		1	17
Mr. Jenney.....	Hempstead, Long Island.	Salary settled by law of the Province.			
	A glebe of 172 acres of up-land and 25 of meadow land.	60		36	7 3
	Perquisites by estimation.	17		10	6
Mr. Stoupe.....	New Rochel.....	13	2 6	8	
	Perquisites by estimation.				
Mr. Whitmore....	Rye.....	Settled salary.			
		50		30	6
	Perquisites by estimation.	5		3	0 7
Mr. Barclay.....	Albany.....	37		22	8 5
	Perquisites by estimation.	2	16	1	15 10
Mr. Browne.....	Brookhaven.....	16	2	9	15 1
	Perquisites by estimation.	2		1	4 8

¹ The above is a copy of the documents as recorded in the old Liber 2 of the Archives of the Surrogate's office, New York, folios 100 to 104. The documents are also on record in the Record of Wills, Libri 1 and 2, folios 370 and 371. It has been thought best, however, to follow the original records in the Archives. This has been done textually, without any attempt to correct the evident mistakes of the copyist of the original documents.

² *The Centennial History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New York*, '85-'86.

³ This is most likely a misprint for £50. On p. 34 of the S. P. G. Abstract for 1738-39 Mr. Charlton's salary is given as £50.

New Jersey 1738.

		Paper and Currency.		Equal Ster- ling monies.	
		£	s. d.	to	£ s. d.
Mr. Vaughan....	Elizabeth Town.....	10	10		6 10
	Perquisites by estimation.	6			3 13 3
Mr. Skinner.....	Amboy.....	0	0		0 0
	Perquisites by estimation.	1	16		1 9 0
Mr. Campbell....	Burlington.....	10	0		
	And from another place..	10	0		12 2 5
	Perquisites per estimation.				
Mr. Pierson.....	Salem.....	15	5		9 5 0
	Perquisites per estimation.	5	3		3 2 6
Mr. Nichol.....	Monmouth County. Per-				
	quisites per estimation.				
Mr. Harrison.....	Staten Island. Perquisites			Settled salary.	
	per estimation. A par-	40	0 0		24 4 3
	sonage house and glebe				
	of 60 acres and a con-				
	siderable plantation left				
	by will of Elias Dan-				
	bury.				

IX.

FORT-CHAPLAINS.

1678-1723.

Rev. Charles Wolley, graduate of Cambridge.....	Aug.	1678 to July 1680
Rev. Dr. John Gordon.....		1683.
Rev. Josias Clark.....	June	1684 to 1686.
Rev. Alexander Innes.....	April	1686.
Rev. John Miller, M. A.....	March	1691.
Rev. John Peter Brisac.....		1701.
Rev. Edmond Mott.....		1696.
Rev. Simon Smith.....		1699.
Rev. John Sharp, M. A.....		1704.
Rev. Robert Jenny.....		1717-1722.
Rev. James Overn.....		1723.

The Rev. John Smith, a Roman Catholic clergyman, was attached to the Fort in 1680 as chaplain; on the roll of Capt. Anthony Brockholl's company in that year, he is mentioned simply as "Reader." The chapel in the Fort, of which notice has been frequently made in the text, was finally destroyed by fire, March, 1741, during the so-called Negro Plot.

X.

DR. JOHNSON'S ADVERTISEMENT.

MAY 31, 1754.

ADVERTISEMENT.

To such Parents as have now (or expect to have) Children prepared to be educated in the College of New-York.

I. As the Gentlemen who are appointed by the Assembly, to be Trustees of the intended Seminary or College of *New-York*, have thought fit to appoint me to take the Charge of it, and have concluded to set up a Course of Tuition in the learned Languages, and in the liberal Arts and Sciences : They have judged it advisable, that I should publish this *Advertisement*, to inform such as have Children ready for a College Education, that it is proposed to begin Tuition upon the first Day of *July* next, at the *Vestry Room* in the new *School-House*, adjoining to *Trinity Church* in *New-York*, which the Gentlemen of the Vestry are so good as to favor them with the Use of in the Interim, till a convenient Place may be built.

II. The lowest Qualifications they have judged requisite, in order to admission into the said College, are as follow, *viz.* That they be able to read well, and write a good legible Hand ; and that they be well versed in the Five first Rules in *Arithmetic*, *i. e.*, as far as *Division* and *Reduction* ; and as to *Latin* and *Greek*, That they have a good Knowledge in the *Grammars*, and be able to make grammatical *Latin*, and both in construing and parsing, to give a good Account of two or three of the first select Orations of *Tully*, and of the first Books of *Virgil's Æneid*, and some of the first Chapters of the *Gospel* of *St. John*, in *Greek*. In these Books therefore they may expect to be examined ; but higher Qualifications must hereafter be expected : and if there be any of the higher Classes in any College, or under private Instruction, that incline to come hither, they may expect Admission to proportionably higher Classes here.

III. And that People may be the better satisfied in sending their Children for Education to this College, it is to be understood, that as to Religion, there is no Intention to impose on the Schollars, the peculiar Tenets of any particular Sect of Christians ; but to inculcate upon their tender Minds, the great Principles of Christianity and Morality, in which true Christians of each Denomination are generally agreed. And as to the daily Worship in the College Morning and Evening, it is proposed that it should, ordinarily, consist of such a Collection of

Lessons, Prayers and Praises of the Liturgy of the Church, as are for the most Part, taken out of the Holy Scriptures, and such as are agreed on by the Trustees, to be in the best Manner expressive of our common Christianity ; and as to any peculiar Tenets, every one is left to Judge freely for himself, and to be required only to attend constantly at such Places of Worship, on the Lord's Day, as their Parents or Guardians shall think fit to order or permit.

IV. The chief Thing that is aimed at in this College is, to teach and engage the Children to *know God in Jesus Christ*, and to love and serve him, in all *Sobriety Godliness and Righteousness* of Life, with a *perfect Heart, and a willing Mind* ; and to train them up in all virtuous Habits, and all such useful Knowledge as may render them creditable to their Families and Friends, Ornaments to their Country, and useful to the public Weal in their Generations. To which good Purposes, it is earnestly desired, that their Parents, Guardians and Masters would train them up from their Cradles under strict Government, and in all Seriousness, Virtue and Industry, that they may be qualified to make orderly and tractable members of this Society ;—and, above all, that in order hereunto, they be very careful themselves, to set them good Examples of true Piety and Virtue in their own Conduct. For as Examples have a very powerful Influence over young Minds, and especially those of their Parents, in vain are they solicitous for a good Education for their Children, if they themselves set before them Examples of Impiety and Profaneness, or of any sort of Vice whatsoever.

V. And, *lastly*, a serious, *virtuous*, and industrious Course of Life, being first provided for, it is further the Design of this College, to instruct and perfect the Youth in the learned Languages, and in the Arts of *reasoning* exactly, of *writing* correctly, and *speaking* eloquently ; and in the Arts of *numbering* and *measuring* ; of *Surveying* and *Navigation* of *Geography* and *History*, of *Husbandry*, *Commerce* and *Government*, and in the Knowledge of *all Nature* in the *Heavens* above us, and the *Air*, *Water* and *Earth* around us, and the various kinds of *Meteors*, *Stones*, *Mines* and *Minerals*, *Plants* and *Animals*, and of every Thing *useful* for the Comfort, the Convenience and Elegance of Life, in the chief *Manufactures* relating to any of these Things : And finally, to lead them from the Study of Nature to the Knowledge of themselves, and of the God of Nature, and their Duty to him, themselves, and one another, and every Thing that can contribute to their true Happiness, both here and hereafter.

Thus much, *Gentlemen*, it was thought proper to advertise you of, concerning the Nature and Design of this College : And I pray GOD,

it may be attended with all the Success you can wish, for the best Good of the rising Generations ; to which (while I continue here) I shall willingly contribute my Endeavours to the Utmost of my Power,

Who am, Gentlemen,

Your real Friend,

And most humble Servant,

SAMUEL JOHNSON.

N. B.—The Charge of the Tuition is established by the Trustees to be only 25s. for each Quarter.¹

XI.

LIST OF WORKS REFERRED TO IN PART I.

Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. London. MDCCLXXVII and MDCCLXXVIII.

An Account of the Commitment and Arraignment, Tryal and Condemnation of Nicholas Bayard, Esq., for High Treason, etc., etc. New York. By order of his Excellency the LORD CORNBURY, and reprinted at London, 1703.

Americæ pars quarta sive insignis et admiranda Historia de reperia primum occidentale India à Christophoro Columbo, Anno MCCCCXIII. Scripta ab HIERONYMO BEZONO MEDIOLANENSE, etc., etc. Omnia elegantibus figuris in æs incisus expressa à THEODORO DE BRY LEODENSE, cive Francofurtensi. Anno CIOIOXCIII.

American Archives. By PETER FORCE. In six series. Prepared and published under authority of an Act of Congress. Washington, October, 1839.

American Genealogy. By JEROME B. HOLGATE. New York : George P. Putnam, 1851.

American Presbyterianism : Its Origin and Early History. By CHARLES AUGUSTUS BRIGGS. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons, 1885.

Analectic Magazine, vol. XIV. Philadelphia : J. Maxwell, 1819. (There are fourteen volumes of first series and two of the second.)

An Address Delivered at the Celebration of the New York Historical Society, May 20, 1863, of the Two Hundredth Birth Day of Mr. William Bradford. By JOHN WILLIAM WALLACE. Albany, N. Y. : J. Munsell, 1863.

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